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Soviet Baltic Sea Naval Cuts Reported

General Staff Figures

PM3110120389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[report by Special correspondent N. Sautin, under the rubric "Details": "Old March for Submarine"]

[Text] Twice Red Banner Baltic Fleet—A diesel-electric missile submarine is today being withdrawn from the Twice Red Banner Baltic Fleet.

It is widely believed that of the four fleets making up our Armed Forces the Baltic Fleet plays a secondary role. It is based in a small and shallow area.... But here is some food for thought. A large NATO grouping has 600 surface ships targeted against the Baltic. Around 70 submarines from the FRG, Denmark, the Netherlands, Britain, and Sweden take turns to patrol the sea: They are gathering intelligence on Soviet bases. Every year the West stages up to 50 exercises in the area.

Nonetheless, we are cutting back our naval armaments. At the naval base I stood on the dockside with Political Officer Nikolay Ivanovich Zorin and looked at the moored submarine due to be scrapped. Outwardly it looks ready for a long voyage. But I already knew that the submarine's 100-meter-long hull was empty.

"Although there has been a noticeable thaw in the international climate," N. Zorin told me, "the situation in the Baltic remains complex and contradictory. The task for our submarine divisions now is entirely clear from the state's defense doctrine. We defend sea lines and ports. Our service is intensive. Baltic seamen can get a feel for themselves of what modern naval confrontation means."

Yet Zorin favors naval force cuts: "We are primarily withdrawing diesel-electric missile submarines from the fleet. They are armed with medium-range ballistic missiles. I think that such armaments should be cut on land and at sea. Second, the Baltic should become a nuclear-free zone and a peaceful sea."

This is the first time that the Navy command has invited the Soviet Armed Forces and Arms Cuts Public Monitoring Group to observe a withdrawal of a submarine from the fleet. The group was set up 6 months ago at the initiative of social organizations such as the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, the Committee of Soviet Scientists for the Defense of Peace and against the Nuclear Threat, the Soviet Peace Foundation, and others. Its appearance was unprecedented: Until recently glasnost had stopped where defense started. But now the USSR Armed Forces General Staff is helping the group to carry out selective public monitoring of Armed Forces cuts of 500,000 men, including the withdrawal of troops from the Warsaw Pact states.

"Reasonable defense sufficiency requires greater openness in the military sphere," Doctor of Historical Sciences S. Rogov, the group's deputy chairman, told me. "After all, reliably safeguarding security is the common concern of the entire people. Excessive secrecy which leaves the public uninformed simply gives rise to rumor and speculation.

"Before traveling to the base," the scholar continued, "we asked the General Staff for figures on the Navy cuts. This is what we were told: In 1989 12 submarines (of which 3 were missile submarines) and 28 surface ships (3 cruisers and 3 destroyers) were scrapped. By the end of next year the number of naval fighting units written off will total 26 diesel-electric submarines (including 7 missile submarines) and 45 surface ships of various types (including 4 cruisers, 4 destroyers, and 20 patrol craft). The Baltic Fleet will decommission 4 submarines, a cruiser, a destroyer, and three patrol craft this year.

The group's aim, of course, is not simply to give the public—not least the foreign public—some figures. After all, there are people behind those figures. Many of them will transfer to civilian life. We cannot ignore the interests of those who have honorably carried out their patriotic duty. How can we help them? The group is studying the socioeconomic consequences of the Armed Forces and arms cuts and is preparing specific proposals for submission to USSR Supreme Soviet committees.

...A. Yugov, the boat's last commander, had served on submarines for 16 years. He talked about his boat:

"She was laid down in the North in 1959. She once visited Cuba. On eight occasions she was recognized as the best in the fleet. Our veteran was Senior Ensign Grigoriy Kuskevich. He had headed the sonar team for the past 15 years. Things are very hard for him now, of course. He himself asked me if he could say a few words at the decommissioning ceremony.... The 29 sailors and petty officers who have completed their draft service will go straight home from the dockside once the traditional 'Proshchaniye Slavyanki' march has been played...."

Baltic Fleet Commander Comments

LD3110144989 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Baltic Fleet October 31 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Valeriy Biryukov:

As the Soviet flag was lowered on a diesel-powered submarine carrying nuclear-tipped ballistic missiles at one of naval bases of the Baltic fleet, the crew bade a solemn and moving farewell to their ship.

The Baltic fleet submarine was decommissioned and will now be sold for scrap.

This act, in which a public group monitoring reductions in the Soviet Armed Forces and armaments took part, marked the beginning of the elimination of the Baltic-based missile-carrying submarines.

The Soviet Union is unilaterally scrapping the vessels to lower military confrontation in the region and enhance confidence-building measures.

"It is not just some outdated submarine model but quite a combat-ready missile-carrying submarine that has been decommissioned. The crew of the submarine recently returned from a voyage during which they practiced training missions and got a high mark," admiral Vitaliy Ivanov, commander of the Baltic fleet, told TASS.

"So, the question is not to modernise this class of weapons but to fully eliminate it in accordance with the Soviet doctrine of defence sufficiency.

"The personnel and armaments of the fleet are being systematically cut, and a number of measures are being taken to reduce military tension in the region.

"We try to hold exercises on a lesser scale, with a small number of ships and closer to our own shores, and invite observers from Balitc countries to watch them.

"We are also reducing the zone of the fleet's operation: Recently about 30 areas of the Baltic were rendered open to commercial fishing vessels".

According to the Soviet data, cited by today's PRAVDA, in 1989 the Navy scrapped 12 submarines and 28 surface ships.

By the end of next year the number of decommissioned combat units will be as follows: 26 diesel-powered submarines and 45 surface ships of various classes. The Baltic fleet will strike off four submarines, a cruiser, a destroyer, and three patrol ships this year.

However, these peaceful steps do not find a response from Western countries, Ivanov emphasised. "Unlike the theatre of land operations, where confrontation has been jointly reduced, tension in the theatre of naval operations does not abate and even grows," he said.

NATO's lare-scale exercises of ships are held, as a rule, not far from Soviet shores. Squadrons of missile-carrying boats enter the basing areas of the Baltic fleet, practicing strikes against its bases.

"All this, as well as the stubborn unwillingness of the West to negotiate cuts in the naval forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, hardly promote the building of confidence between them.

"Nevertheless, the Soviet Union firmly intends to implement its decision to eliminate its sea-launched nuclear weapons in the Baltic area, the commander of the Baltic fleet said.

"By 1991 our fleet will decommission all missile carrying submarines. This process began today".

Yazov Denies Missiles Near Moscow Being Replaced

LD3110142489 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Soviet Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov has denied allegations by the Western mass media that missiles are being replaced in regions around Moscow. He said it was pure fiction aimed at casting doubt on Soviet peace policies. In an interview with our reporter, the minister assuranced [as heard] that no new missiles had been installed near Moscow nor were any replacement [as heard] of already existing missiles.

Nuclear Testing Talks Continue in Geneva

LD3110112789 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 31 OCT 89

[Text] Geneva October 31 TASS—The fifth round of the Soviet-American talks on limitation and eventual termination of nuclear tests is now continuing, with participants mindful of the results of the Wyoming meeting between the Soviet and American foreign ministers.

The ministers achieved an understanding of principle on the mechanism to control the treaty and instructed the two delegations to complete the drafting of an appropriate protocol within a short period of time.

In a business-like atmosphere, the delegations are conducting detailed studies of a broad range of technical and legal questions concerning a protocol about control of the 1974 treaty between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of underground nuclear-weapon tests.

During the month since the resumption of the talks, the delegations have concentrated on parallel studies of proposals concerning the three agreed (in principle) methods of control over the 1974 treaty. They include hydrodynamic measurings at a nuclear testing-ground, measurings at seismic stations situated in the country under observation and on-the-spot inspections.

The two sides note with satisfaction the constructive atmosphere of the discussions. The atmosphere enables them, despite numerous difficult problems, including technical issues, to advance successfully towards the formulation of and agreement on the main provisions of the joint protocol.

In their work the delegations are guided by instructions to draft a protocol to the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear-Weapon Tests as well as an earlier agreed protocol to the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Expolosions for Peaceful Purposes during the forthcoming Soviet-American summit.

As a result, they will fulfil the task of the first stage of the talks. This will enable the delegations to turn to the discussion of further limitations on nuclear tests and their eventual termination.

'Roundtable' Discusses Finland, Naval Cuts

LD2910184389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 29 Oct 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Viktor Pavlovich Karpov, deputy USSR foreign affairs minister; Nikolay Fedorovich Chervov, head of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; and All-Union radio commentator Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko]

[Text] [Pasko] Good day, Comrades. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Finland was one of the most important events in international life last week. In general we all, of course, assumed that the talks would go well. This was indicated by the state and development of Soviet-Finnish relations. However, something rather more took place. The talks gave an answer to questions raised by the contemporary process of development in both Soviet-Finnish relations and in the European and world situations. The Soviet- Finnish Declaration attracts attention in this connection. It contains the joint statement of a major European-Asian nuclear state and member of a military alliance and a relatively small neutral state in Northern Europe to the effect that they are determined to act in the name of establishing the principles of freedom of choice, democratization and humanization of relations, the primacy of international law and the supremacy of universal human interests in interstate affairs. These principles have lain at the basis of our policy since we began to restructure. It is, however, important, in my opinion, for these to become guiding principles for other countries, all countries, and to be consolidated in international accords. The Soviet-Finnish Declaration does this and this determines its significance, taking it beyond the framework of purely bilateral relations. The Soviet Union and Finland are engaged in—and this is no exaggeration—pioneering work in laying the ways along which relations between peoples should develop.

[Karpov] I think it is very useful when principles like these are affirmed in relations between neighbor states developing along the different paths they have chosen and that, irrespective of differences in social system and of differences even in some political and foreign policy tenets, those states are able to find a modus vivendi, that is, are able to agree not only on the relations between them but on how to pursue the principles they share in the international arena. After all, Helsinki is a symbol of the all-European process and it was not for nothing that Mikhail Sergeyevich offered the president of Finland his backing in having the next all European conference in 1992, a conference that we are suggesting be a summit, take place once again in Helsinki so that the spirit of the first Helsinki in 1975 can be developed, and the all-European process can proceed under its sign: The sign of the possibility of developing the process of Europe for all those taking part, irrespective of whether they belong to the socialist or the capitalist system, are members of NATO or the Warsaw Pact, or maintain a neutral stance.

[Pasko] The new political thinking, the new logic of world development is only taking its first steps. But the tendency, as it seems to me, the tendency to strengthen it, can be perceived fairly clearly. Well, look. The events of, let's say, recent years: The 1986 Stockholm Accord on confidence-building measures, the Delhi Declaration, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan. It is possible to mention other events of the past few years, but probably most of all, it seems to me, this tendency may be perceived in Europe. The first part of the Paris conference on human rights has taken place, as have the London information forum and the Sofia ecology meeting. Hopes have appeared for the signing next year of an agreement at the Vienna talks on conventional forces and confidence-buildling measures in Europe. Being placed in the agenda now is the formation of pan European economic cooperation. Now we have proposed a meeting of experts from the European economic groupings to create a kind of European trilateral commission which could, in particular, discuss issues of dove-tailing the economic mechanisms in Europe.

The disarmament aspect of the Euroepan process is going positively as well; moreover, not only in Vienna, but also in Geneva at the talks on chemical weapons. The prospects for reaching an accord with the United States on halting nuclear tests and on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons have improved. But it is necessary to admit that many problems nevertheless remain. In this respect the problem of reducing seaborne weapons is most prominent.

[Chervov] Yes, unfortunately the situation is such that the United States and the NATO allies categorically refuse to discuss the problem of naval forces, to limit the military activity of naval forces, reduce these weapons or extend confidence-building measures to the activity of naval forces, although there have been certain accords on this. Now the Soviet delegation is actively raising the issue of extending confidence-building measures to naval forces. But in practice naval forces, figuratively speaking, remain sacred cows, a taboo has been imposed on them, and actually at all levels naval forces are removed from the talks' topics. What is going on here?

Well, I believe that, in the first place, naval forces are the strongest component of the armed forces in which both the United States and the NATO countries have a significant advantage over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. They would like to preserve this advantage. If one were to now compare armed forces as a whole, then they are more or less equal. In the European region there is parity in conventional weapons, an approximate military balance. Of course, the situation now is such that, if at the Vienna talks—and I am positive and optimistic about an agreement at those talks—there is a radical reduction in conventional weapons, that is, land forces and air forces, then naturally a distortion in the military balance will occur. Due to their naval forces, the United States and the NATO countries will gain an advantage. The United States and the NATO countries constantly say that the naval forces are intended to defend communications, they do not have an offensive structure, and do not represent a threat to the

Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. In fact, of course, this is not so. The U.S. Navy and its structure are offensive. Can one really, for example, consider carrier forces defensive? They are, first of all, an offensive means. But the most important thing is that the Navy is saturated with a huge quantity of nuclear weapons. Naturally, this represents a threat of war at sea possibly—or rather there is a risk of war at sea being unleashed.

Now, on land the military activity of land forces is under the strict control of those confidence-building measures worked out by the Stockholm conference. Just now it is impossible to take any division of more than 13,000 men from a garrison without informing 33 European states, the United States and Canada. But naval forces, where there is a huge amount of nuclear weapons and a huge amount of conventional weapons, remain without control. The risk of the outbreak of war is not on the land: It lies namely in the sea. So now, once again, the question of naval forces becoming a topic at talks has been put forward. And we will strive for this.

[Pasko] In finland, the Murmansk initiatives to limit and reduce military activity in northern Europe were developed still further. What is new in our proposals aired just now in Murmansk [as heard]?

[Karpov] I would say that we—in the form of Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech—have enriched the Murmansk initiatives with some more practical proposals. For instance, we announced that we are starting what is essentially the process of denuclearizing the Baltic Sea, by withdrawing several categories of nuclear weapons from there. Moreover, it has been quite clearly stated that we are prepared to enter into talks with all interested states, and primarily, of course, with nuclear powers, to safeguard the nuclear status of the Baltic Sea. As I see it, this is a very specific and businesslike proposal which will provide an opportunity to remove an entire region from beneath the nuclear sword of Damocles. This region is ringed by states which have a direct and vital interest in this Baltic Sea. Then there was the definite proposal to conclude an agreement with the Nordic countries on notification of accidents involving ships, including such types as our submarine Komsomolets: This seems to me a very practical proposal.

Matters relating to naval weapons need not be resolved all at once. In this context, of great interest, for example, is the proposal put forward not so long ago by the Icelandic Government to tackle the issues of naval armaments in the northern sector of the Atlantic. I believe what Mikhail Sergeyevich said recently in finland, together with individual elements of the Icelandic proposals, could provide a basis for the start of an earnest dialogue in northern Europe on naval weapons, certain security zones, and the strengthening of trust in that region.

[Chervov] If in the Murmansk speech it was stated that we are prepared to withdraw submarines carrying nuclear missiles from the Baltic Sea, then now it has been announced that we have already withdrawn two submarines, and in 1990 we will withdraw the four remaining submarines. We are also to scrap the nuclear warheads and missiles for these submarines, and we will not replace them. Just this single example illustrates how the Murmansk proposals Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev announced earlier have been advanced in practical terms.

[Pasko] The proposals that were just aired in Finland go beyond a purely militant aspect. We are talking about a broad range of problems in the region, from security to human rights. To this end there is a proposal to set up a parliamentary group of Nordic countries. All of this would, without doubt, bolster the pan-European process.

There is, however, a curious detail: The reaction from the United States. It claims that our proposals contain nothing new. The proposal to return to Finland's initiative concerning the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe taking into account the changes that have occured in recent years was quite simply rejected. As I see it, this again draws attention to two recent speeches by U.S. Secretary of State Baker on foreign policy and arms control—speeches billed as keynote.

[Chervov] By and large, I believe this speech to have been constructive and positive. In it, the secretary of state assessed the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations as the most promising there has been since world war II. It throws open the clear prospect of reducing the risk of an outbreak of war, and from the point of view of disarmament problems, the speech in which he assesses the practical actions of the United States and the Soviet Union was oriented toward seeking stable and predictable Soviet-U.S. relations using peaceful political means.

As the secretary of state sees it, by virtue of this the disarmament process and the process of arms control are now on the up. Indeed they are, but there are certain points in Mr Baker's speech that induce in me a certain ambivalence. On the other hand, he talks of the search for mutual understanding, but on the other hand there are several issues that are clearly interpreted to the United States' advantage. For example, in the opinion of the secretary of state, it is first and foremost the Soviet Union that should change the structure of its armed forces and its doctrine, and in particular drop the element of aggression in its strategic offensive weapons, to reduce the risk of war. I believe this proposal by Mr Baker must be tackled on a reciprocal basis. The United States should in turn, likewise, scrap or reduce its first-strike weapons such as the MX ballistic missile, should not build invisible airplanes like the B-2 strategic bomber, or sea and air-launched cruise missiles, particularly new ones based on stealth technology.

As for the secretary of state's claim that the United States' strategic weapons are predominantly for a counter-strike, in my opinion this does not hold water; for the deployment of B-2 heavy bombers with Stealth technology, SSBNs—that is, strategic ballistic-missile submarines—from the Ohio class, the Trident-2 ballistic

missiles, the entire continuation of the work on the SDI program, all of this relates to the first strike category. It is hard to agree with the assertion in the secretary of state's speech that the strengthening of stability would facilitate the creation of an antiballistic missile defense disposed in depth, and with space-based elements that would supposedly be defensive in nature.

The Soviet leadership has already assessed this problem. The creation of a space shield would affect all relations and would have an effect on the entire process of international relations. This is not a technical problem, pure and simple. The creation of a space shield would lead to a revision of the established strategic stability, would create conditions suitable for a nuclear attack, and would, of course, act as a stimulus to the arms race. An uncontrolled arms race.

On the one hand, I welcome the secretary of state's statement that openness in military activity increases the possibility of arms control. That thesis is correct, but, once again, this thesis extends only to land forces and the air force. Naval forces are excluded. Thus, once again, the naval forces are taboo. Neither the confidence building measures nor openness extends to naval forces. Why?

A large proportion of the secretary of state's speech was devoted to chemical weapons. On the whole his standpoint is well-known. There is a coincidence on many points, but I simply do not understand the current U.S. position on the possibility of continuing with the production of binary chemical weapons, even after a convention is concluded. I believe this position can only serve to impede the move by all countries to conclude a convention.

However, I would again like to emphasize that by and large this statement by the secretary of state reflects the administration's disposition toward active dialogue with the Soviet Union on disarmament issues, which creates additional opportunities for progress at the talks on nuclear and space weapons, at the Vienna talks, and on other problems.

[Karpov] After the Wyoming meeting between the secretary of state and our foreign affairs minister, both sides, the United States and ours, evaluated relations between the United States and the Soviet Union as going onto a new, higher level. It seems that these last two speeches by the secretary of state, and the previous speech in San Francisco, are trying, as it were, to create a definite program of further discussions with the Soviet Union, proceeding specifically from the results of the Wyoming discussions. The fact that the secretary of state, in both his first and second speeches, expressed completely unequivocal, unambiguous support for the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and characterized these processes in the Soviet Union as a pledge for the further development of Soviet-U.S. relations, seems to me to give us reason to evaluate the secretary of state's speech positively.

The fact that these speeches nevertheless contained certain elements of, I would say, inert thinking dating from those times when, starting in 1983, the idea of creating a cosmic shield over the United States was actively advocated, as was the necessity of developing a U.S. strategic triad in order to create a system to deter the Soviet Union, a strategic system of deterrence—this seems to me to be still the traditional thinking which needs to be amended. But I think the way to amend this thinking is, during talks with the United States on the basic root issues of strategy, strategic weapons, conventional weapons and chemical weapons, to consolidate the United States in positive positions and to lead the Soviet-U.S. dialogue to specific decisions. What decisions? Decisions which would lead to a decrease in military confrontation between the two powers and which would exclude altogether any basis for waging war between the two countries. That is, a switching of the armed forces of both countries onto an exclusively defensive basis. In this, it seems to me, lies the guarantee of further progress in our relations, and in this lies the guarantee of security for both the United States and the Soviet Union in their relations with each other.

[Pasko] Many highly important differences remain in the approaches of the Soviet Union and the United States to the problems of disarmament. I would like to quote the words of Secretary of State Baker as he regards this problem of arms control. This is what he says: Arms control does not take place in a political vacuum. We compete in the military field because our political positions are different; political arguments add fuel to the fire of competition in the area of armaments; only by settling political disagreements can we weaken the competition in the area of armaments connected to it. The question arises: Is it possible in such a case to have a halt in the increase of nuclear weapons and weapons in general, and the appearance of military programs such as SDI which, in essence, lead to the removal of any limits on the arms race. For there have been, still are, and will still be political disagreements between us and the United States because of the very differences in the nature of the two countries. Look at what Comrade Gorbachev says when putting forward our views on the peaceful period, without which the turning point in international relations cannot occur: A period of peace presupposes the common consent of the states that no problems, neither those which are left over from the past nor those arising in our time, can be solved by the use of weapons. Once this is so, it is necessary to reduce the level of armaments to the limits of reasonable sufficiency for defence; it is necessary to renounce a policy of force, hegemonism, and interference in the affairs of other countries.

[Karpov] Of course there is some kind of mutual link, it is natural, between political problems and the arms race. But this link is reciprocal. We cannot say that the existence of the arms race depends only on the presence of political problems. If we take, let's say, the SDI program, which Reagan put forward in 1983, then he put it forward without regard to any political problems; he put forward this idea as a strategic kind of plan which was to shelter the United States from any nuclear missile strike forever, and thus in essence guarantee the security

of the United States. I am talking about the motivation, about how this matter was presented. There was no link with political problems or the solution of these problems.

For this reason, if we seriously want to begin speaking now about halting the arms race and seek the solution of political problems at the same time, then we have to break this vicious circle. We have to begin with something, and there is a marvellous start in the area of strategic weapons and a good start in the area of chemical weapons and in the area of conventional weapons now at the Vienna talks. If we succeed in solving these problems and agreeing to a 50-percent reduction in strategic and offensive weapons, the banning and liquidation of chemical weapon stockpiles and the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, then on this basis it will be easier to solve other problems, including problems of a political character. Even in conditions of the presence of colossal amounts of weapons we have already shown, with the examples of, let's say, the Angolan settlement, with the example of the solution of the Cambodian question, that it is possible to solve political problems even in these complicated conditions. For this reason, we should not tie everything up in one knot and think that if we do not solve the political problems then we will not solve the problem of the arms race. Let's solve both. Only in this way can we ensure the genuinely peaceful period of development for mankind, about which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is speaking.

[Chervov] I agree completely with viktor Pavlovich. Now a completely different situation is forming. When the Soviet Union shows with its peace initiatives and its practical deeds that it is necessary to radically cut armaments on a reciprocal basis, and by its practical reductions in its armed forces, confirms exactly what Mikhail Sergeyevich has just announced in Finland. In order to evaluate our position fully on questions of cutting armaments it is not sufficient only to state these numerical data. The most important thing, in my opinion, is to take into account our readiness for a constructive search, with all interested countries, for ways of unravelling the problems of limiting and liquidating nuclear weapons, banning and eliminating chemical weapons, radically reducing conventional weapons, not allowing the spread of the arms race into space, gradually curtailing military production, and substantially reducing military spending.

[Pasko] We oppose the unhealthy, dangerous psychology of confrontation with the logic of reason, good will and constructive dialogue.

Comrades, I heartily thank you for participating in our conversation today. I wish you all the best.

Moscow Radio International Service's Anniversary

Service's History Recalled

LD2910180189 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer N. Kornikov] And now Radio Moscow presents a program about Radio Moscow. We started broadcasting to other countries 60 years ago. [music] Those of you who listen to Radio Moscow of course recognize these call signals, but 60 years ago they were a little bit different. We don't have any recordings of what they were then. Well, of course, a good deal has changed in these 60 years. As a matter of fact, that is being very modest. I wouldn't say a good deal, I'd say almost everything has changed except possibly the very idea of our programs: To tell people about the Soviet Union, about the Soviet people and what is going on in this country—right Sara?

[Sara Kamenshchikova] Right. And so we decided to get together today and invite many of the staff of Radio Moscow into the studio to discuss some of the experiences they can recall from the years past.

[Kornikov] Well, I think that's very interesting because there have been very very many interesting experiences. We have a lot of people who have been here for 30 and 40 years, possibly a little more. But I think it would be interesting to take a look at 1929—what was it like in this country, the approximate atmosphere of those days. Of course, neither you or I were here then.

[Kamenshchikova] That's right!

[Kornikov] Nevertheless we know from history what it was like. 1929— This was a year; it wasn't actually the year, it was the years of great enthusiasm among the people. They thought, they believed that they were building something new—socialism, an entirely new social system. And there was great enthusiasm. [passage omitted]

To take us back to 1929 when Radio Moscow began its foreign service, I already talked about the enthusiasm of the people here, the general atmosphere, but those were also very, very dark days for that was already the time when the years of Stalin's repressions were gaining speed very rapidly; and of course, most of the people didn't know what was going on. The only, well, slight break was during the war when all efforts were concentrated on winning the war. [passage omitted]

[Kamenshchikova] Nik, I'd like to break into the conversation and ask you: Actually you were around in the 50's when a lot of events occured in this country. Did you get to announce any of those?

[Kornikov] Well, yes Sara, you're right, I was around when a lot of these interesting events took place. Some of the events I did announce. I don't remember which ones were first or not. But just to enumerate a few of them, of course the blockbusters were Stalin's death, then the disclosure about Beriya and his final execution, and after that of course the 20th Congress in 1956 when the actual big thaw started after Khrushchev delivered his famous report on the Stalin years.

[Kamenshchikova] And were you involved in telling that to the West?

[Kornikov] Not really, Sara. You see it was all kept a big secret. It was not reported publicly, it was not in the

press, so we didn't say anything about it until much much later; and although I believe that the thaw started in 1956, nevertheless there was still quite a lot of censorship, we were still in the grips of this secretiveness, not coming out and saying things that should have been said. As a matter of fact, I remember Joe Adamov started his "Mailbag" somewhere in that period and he had a lot of trouble with censorhsip about what he could say, what he couldn't say, although these questions were asked by many of our listeners writing to "Moscow Mailbag." Let's listen to how he describes that period:

[Adamov] You know, I remember a listener once asked who was richer—the United States or the Soviet Union? I ansered that it was common knowledge that America was richer but in time we would become as rich or even richer. That was the slogan of the times—something we have not done to this time, incidentally. So what do you think happened?

The censor wanted to know where I got the idea that the United States was richer. Why, Mr Khrushchev kept saying it all the time during his visit to the United States, I said. And the censor countered that with: Khrushchev said these things there, not here. Yes, but all our papers printed his speeches, I countered. Well then, he said, my Party conscience doesn't allow me to let this go on the air. The next day I brought him a book on Mr Khrushchev's visit to the United States. A book entitled: "Let's Live in Peace and Friendship." I showed the censor a passage from Mr Khrushchev's press conference in Moscow. Mr Khrushchev said: "Only a fool can fail to see that America is strong and rich." I told the censor, I don't know who Mr Khrushchev had in mind when he said this. You should see his face!

[Kornikov] Those were some days; I can imagine some of the battles that Joe had with those censors. I mean, when you look back at it now it was all so stupid, so extremely stupid. These people were, they were in the grips of not saying anything that would somehow degrade or lower this country, or show that somebody was better, bigger, more beautiful, more wealthy, or anything else that you like. So you see, it takes time, building democracy, building freedom, building anything takes a lot of time. You've got to change the conscience, the approach, the very idea of how a person looks at his own country must be changed in order to achieve those things. [passage omitted]

And now let's continue our interviews. With me at the microphone is Boris Belitskiy, who has been here for quite some time and is one of our top translaters, commentators, authors, readers—you name it, he does it. [Passage omitted]

Boris, now to get back to more serious topics. You took part in many of the Party congresses, particularly during the period we now refer to as the stagnation period. You translated many of the main reports. You also took part in doing simultaneous translations of these reports. Could you, Boris, describe your feelings now in retrospect about these reforms. Did you have any thoughts about them, did they effect you in any way?

[Belitskiy] Well, of course, as you say in retrospect, that is, with hindsight, we realize today very clearly in this period of perestroyka and glasnost how naive we were all those years in taking for granted all those glowing accounts of achievements that we spoke about throughout the Brezhnev period. But that didn't dawn on us at once. You see, the early congresses following the 20th Congress, we still...

[Kornilov, interrupting] The 20th was where Khrushchev read his famous report.

[Belitskiy] [Words indistinct] Yes, that was the highlight of an enormous period, an event of tremendous importance which generated enormous enthusiasm. But after that the enthusiasm began waning and it became clearer and clearer that something was wrong. We all felt it; we couldn't put our finger on it at once and a clear explanation of what was happening, unfortunately, has emerged only today in the period of perestroyka. Now we know what we know. We know that all those glowing accounts that we broadcast all those years of our achievements were, bluntly speaking, exaggerated. And we know now a great deal more about things that we should have known then. [passage omitted]

[Kamenshchikova] The years passed at Radio Moscow and many new voices came to the microphone. There were a group of new announcers and workers here at the radio in the 1970's. One of the representatives is here in the studio now; it's Dmitriy Linnik, whom you know very well. And Dmitriy, I'd like to ask you about that time when you first came to Radio Moscow. That was sometime in the 70's, wasn't it?

[Linnik] It was in October'72.

[Kamenshchikova] And I must say that Dmitriy is one of our amazing announcers Annabel was talking about. One of the people who learned English in this country.

[Linnik] Right.

[Kamenshchikova] And whose English is impeccable. [laughs]

[Linnik] Well, just about, yeah [laughs]. Well, anyway, so my job at first was to learn to read. That was as simple as that. And I began to write things and I began to edit things and translate and all that. Then I began probing into what was actually being broadcast. And the more I found about it, the less common sense I found in many of the things that were done. And that is pretty tragic. The first impulse from that was maybe there's something in it which I'm not aware of

[Kamenshchikova] [laughs] Hidden meaning.

[Linnik] You see, there was always this, yeah, hidden meaning or something that somebody else knows and I

fail to know. That was my impression. That is why this, I mean I may sound a bit too serious, but as a matter of fact the generation, somewhere around my generation, had been dubbed a lost generation.

[Kamenshchikova] You don't seem very lost to me [laughs], at least now now.

[Linnik] Well, I survived I guess, well spiritually.

[kamenshchikova] Well, considering the difficulties you found at that time why did you stay at the radio? There must have been some reason why you nonetheless fought it through.

[Linnik] Well, I didn't really fight it through; and very few people did, and those people who did fight it through, well, they didn't have it easy back then. And, actually, one of those persons brings to mind memories—again not very comfortable memories of those years. It must have been early 1974. Well, for some time there'd been growing a campaign against Solzhenitsyn. After he published his "One Day in The Life of Ivan Denisovich" he was a celebrity here, but that was in early 1960's. After this period of stagnation began setting in, that's when a campaign against him began. And in 1974 things came to a head when he had to publish his "Gulag Archipelago" abroad. All the media, including our blessed Radio Moscow, had to blare away stuff about Solzhenitysn being a traitor of the people and all that sort of stuff. We began getting these stern commentaries devoid of any logic, actually; and now we find out that they were also devoid of any common sense. So, I get one of those things to read and I felt so down—I just can't explain it by now—you know the way you feel when you have to lie, pure and simple.

[Kamenshchikova] Did you find you had to do that very often in that period of time?

[Linnik] No, but that particular case stands out in my memory. and this is when one of the, well, more experienced boys in our team, Annabel Bucar, saw the way I reacted to this article I had to read. She looked at me, kind of nodded, took it away from me and said: Let me read it, forget it. And I'm grateful to that women for that, besides everything else, besides the language and stuff, you know.

[Kamenshchikova] Right. Well, getting back to that period of time, Dmitriy, when did you begin to feel that things were changing, or is it still like that?

[Linnik] In some ways it is still like that, although I don't want to be partial. The thing is that even during that period of stagnation it wasn't all that awful back then, and good books were written and good articles were written and good programs were done, including Radio Moscow. I don't mean my own programs. [laughs]

[Kamenshchikova] [Laughing] We're very modest at Radio Moscow.

[Linnik] Yeah, you bet. So it wasn't hopeless and that was one of the things that helped us sort of pull through, although perhaps the most important point of that was that, well, for me, there wasn't any other place to go to. I received decent money. Anyway, a job kept me. [passage omitted]

TV Documentary

LD2910151489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2045 GMT on 25 October broadcasts a 60-minute documentary by political observer Vladimir Tsvetov reviewing the history of Moscow Radio's external broadcasting services. The program opens with brief shots of studios and equipment rooms in the radio building, with superimposed excerpts of material being broadcast in foreign languages. This is followed by a brief statement by Boris Belitskiy, announcer of programs in English.

Belitskiy says: "Whereas in the past we placed the main emphasis upon our achievements, and—what's the point of hiding it—these were often not so much real as imaginary achievements, today we try to conduct an open, reasonable conversation with the listener, one based on confidence, about our problems and the ways of tackling them."

Similar brief contributions follow by Oleg Vakulovskiy and Qing Guoping, announcers of programs in Swedish and Chinese, respectively. Tsvetov then says: "Moscow Radio addressed its listeners overseas for the first time 60 years ago. It had long been known that ideas resound more loudly over the world than do cannon. Throughout human history, both before the invention of radio and afterward, people expressing one idea have tried to change the minds of those adhering to a different one. However, they have been more ready to kill each other; killing is simpler than changing someone's mind. That is how it appeared before people understood that it might happen that there was no one left to argue. Today the radio stations of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, and China set out political, social, and economic ideas for 7,600 hours per week in the languages of nearly all the peoples of the world."

Tsvetov goes on to recall how external radio broadcasting from Moscow began, showing clips of the 1929 October Revolution anniversary parade which was the subject of an outside broadcast in German. Tsvetov says: "Soviet broadcasts for listeners overseas had begun 10 days earlier, on 29 October. Moscow calling! Proletarians of all countries unite! In German, later in French and in English these words went out into the ether. The dream of Vladimir Ilich Lenin about the possibility of directly addressing the working people of overseas countries without going through the checkpoints of censors and frontiers came true." Tsvetov recalls an early letter received from a grateful listener in Germany. He speaks about the enthusiastic themes of those days, noting the emotional tone of the broadcasts them. Video shows contemporary black and white archive footage showing industrial achievements, tractors at work in the fields. Then Tsvetov goes on:

"However, monstrous distortions of socialism were hidden behind the figures for the numbers of tonnes of metal smelted, of tractors produced; behind the reports about the construction of the Dneproges and the Turkestan-Siberian railway. But Soviet people believed that they were creating a socialist society. They felt themselves to be living in a socialist country. This trust and this feeling was also carried by Moscow Radio to its listeners overseas. Mate Zalka, the Hungarian internationalist, wrote in his diary: It is repulsive for a communist to see mistakes and not to be able to mention it. I do not think he was the only one for whom it was repulsive. But the people who came to the microphone of Moscow Radio accepted it as the truth. The violence of Stalin was carried out in the name of the universal happiness to come. They wanted to see truth in this. In 1933 Mate Zalka opened up broadcasting in the Hungarian language." Tsvetov goes on to name other pioneers of the service whose pictures appear on the screen. A Japanese announcer is interviewed about his experiences as a broadcaster.

Archive footage of scenes of warfare are then shown. Tsvetov comments: "People working for Moscow Radio were turned into soldiers from the very first day of the war. Georgi Dimitrov, Palmiro Togliatti, Wilhelm Pieck, Louis Aragon, Sofya Dzerzhinskaya--the studios became a front line. And that happened in the literial meaning of the word."

This is followed by a statement by Iosif Adamov, a presenter of English-language programs, who says: I remember at the beginnning of the war our radio gave the Germans no peace, and Hitler decided to eliminate Moscow Radio once and for all. Some particular flying ace dropped a bomb right into the courtyard of the building of our radio committee. But the bomb failed to explode. It went deep into the earth. There was a well of some sort there and when the sappers came and made this enormous bomb safe they found a note inside it saying: "We are helping in whatever way we can." It was surprising that even in those days of fascism there existed a kind of underground among the Germans, people who tried in some way to struggle against fascism."

Tsvetov then tells of other instances of listener appreciation sent to Moscow Radio broadcasters. He speaks of the hope inspired by the station during the years of fascist occupation in Europe. He speaks of the confidence in victory of the Moscow Radio announcers during the war and the encouragement given to the resistance movements in different countries. In Germany listening to Moscow Radio was a crime. Despite that, individuals listened regularly and passed on messages to their families from German prisoners of war. Soviet soldiers entering Eastern Europe during the spring of 1945 were greeted by crowds singing songs they had heard broadcast over Moscow radio's external services. Video shows archive film shown of announcer Yuriy Borisovich Levitan announcing the unconditional surrender of fascist Germany in May 1945.

Tsvetov then continues his review by focusing on the postwar period, saying: "Stalin is once again on the Mausoleum, and with him his renowned comrades in arms; from here we behold distant prospects that we alone on earth can see. Moscow Radio informed listeners about which distant prospects were opening up before Stalin and demanded that it should be believed, even if the radio listeners themselves saw these prospects as being something totally different." Another clip is then shown of Boris Belitskiy, who says: "Working under Stalin. For me this was the period from the fall of 1945, when I returned from the front, to the spring of 1953. What was the main thing in those days? Well, in the first place, of course there was pride. We had just ended the war. We had ended it as the victors. The prestige of Moscow Radio on the world's airwaves was incredibly high. But alongside this feeling of pride there was another feeling too: I would describe it as a mixed feeling of shame and fear. There was shame, because we could not fail to understand that when we praised one man beyond all bounds, when we attributed victory in the war to him alone...[sentence unfinished] And there was a feeling of fear, too, a feeling of fear not only because one or another of our colleagues were still continuing to disappear at night, but a feeling of fear because we were surrounded by a wall of distrust."

Video shows a large display of photographs pinned up on display boards, and Tsvetov says: "The wall of mourning. We saw it during the week of conscience. There are no Moscow Radio workers in these photographs. There were 43 of them—43 announcers, translators, editors, who went away into the night under escort and who disappeared without trace. We do not know their precise names. Their documents have not been preserved. Perhaps Moscow Radio never had them. There is a monument to the unknown soldier. There should also be a monument to the unknown internationalist."

This is followed by another clip of Belitskiy, who says: "The fear passed only during the time of Khrushchev, after the 20th Party Congress. I believe that we—that is to say I and my colleagues—will be eternally grateful to him for the fact that he removed this fear. Fear like nothing else deadens initiative and creativity. It was indeed following the 20th Congress that our broadcasting services were enriched by a mass of new ideas—new features made their appearance, people began to create. Broadcasting raised itself up to a totally new height. True, from time to time there still were relapses, on account of inertia, perhaps.

Another clip by Adamov follows, who states: "I remember a letter coming from the United States during Krushchev's time containing an ordinary childish question: Which is the richer—the United States or the USSR? Of course, I answered that the United States was. The censor said no, he wouldn't let that through. Why wouldn't he let it through? How do you know that they are wealthier than we are? It's generally known; what's more, Krushchev said so in all his speeches when he was in the United States recently. But the censor said that what Krushchev said

there doesn't matter. But all our newspapers printed it. When I told him that, he said: In that case, my party conscience doesn't permit me to say it."

On the Brezhnev years, the program carries remarks by a Japanese announcer who says it was clear that when Brezhnev was in power initiative was not wanted. Video shows a clip of a gathering in which Brezhnev is seen receiving an award. An announcer is heard reading out news of economic successes in the Soviet Union, saying there is no need for strikes and that the nationalities question has been resolved fully and finally. Tsvetov says: "Seeing all of this, listening to all of this, no doubt some of you have smiled. But history is no magnetic tape recording from which a piece can be cut out and the two ends joined together again. Moscow Radio has experienced ups and downs. It has lived the life of the country both heroic and tragic; both stagnating and vigorous. But in the period of deepest stagnation Moscow Radio did not lose its ability to respond to someone else's pain as though it were its very own."

This is followed by a clip by Rolando Carrasco, a Chilean, who recalls the renewed hope he received when, following his arrest under Chilean dictator Pinochet's regime, he was able to listen to Moscow Radio. He tells Yekaterina Olevskaya, an announcer of programs for Chile who is with him in the studio, how important it was for him and the other prisoners to hear the voice of Moscow, her voice. The events of April 1974 in Portugal are then recalled with Joao Caeiro de Sousa playing items from his personal collection of recordings from Moscow Radio. A Palestinian journalist and an Ethiopian artist, in brief interviews, speak of their enthusiasm for Moscow Radio.

Tsvetov goes on to say: "The 27th Congress of the CPSU. After the word Moscow—which sounds the same in nearly all languages—radio presenters and announcers have now started to pronounce without translation new words like perestroyka and glasnost. The Congress called for creative cooperation between states and peoples, so that civilization might survive. What is needed is dialogue. Harmful and dangerous distortions in the image of an enemy are not needed. This thought, expressed in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, was carried to the peoples of the world by Moscow Radio. Perestroyka and glasnost have made it possible for us to stop the moulding of ideological monsters."

This is followed by another clip of Belitskiy, who says: "The listeners have valued this. Very many listeners now write to us saying that at last they have trust, at last they have ceased looking at us as if we were an enemy. And this is very important. This is perhaps the most important thing in our work—that we want to get rid of stereotypes like the image of the enemy which have gotten in our way for so many years, which have for so many years allowed our enemies to manipulate public opinion and to find ever new resources for the arms race. To some extent, we are now succeeding in this. It is only now in destroying these stereotypes and destroying the image of an enemy that we finally make it possible to restructure international relations in a real way."

Tsvetev continues: Moscow Radio today broadcasts in 77 languages for 279 hours every day. Several dozen announcers go on the air simultaneously in different wave bands. Our audience is 100 million people. How do we know? From letters.

Valentina Zlobina, deputy head of the Letters Department, then states that Moscow Radio receives on average 200,000 letters from more than 160 countries and territories in 63 foreign languages every year. Recently, many letters have been coming in from overseas in the Russian language on account of the launching of Moscow Radio's new World Service in Russian.

One of the announcers of the Radio Moscow World Service in Russian says that letters are received not only from compatriots abroad, but from foreigners who have mastered Russian. Tsvetov then asks Zlobina what the letters are about. Zlobina replies: "Most of all they are warm messages, not only to those who work at Moscow Radio but to all Soviet people: It is a desire to establish contact with Soviet people, with the country, and naturally to find out about perestroyka. One might say that the phenomenon of perestroyka has roused Moscow Radio's overseas audience and generally speaking the journalists of Moscow Radio regard the mailbag and their listeners as coauthors."

Tsvetov continues: "Good news is bad news that has been censored. During the years of stagnation, life in the USSR was reported by Moscow Radio according to that principle. And vice versa: bad news is good news that has been censored—a rule which operated with regard to life over there. One of the overseas listeners said it with irony: In those days one didn't have to guess where the empire of evil was to be found. It was sufficient to tune in to Moscow Radio and it all became clear. Perestroyka and glasnost have created the main conditions for renewing Moscow Radio. They make it possible for it to free itself from recklessness. It is a complicated process. It has only just began. But it is taking place."

Views are then expressed by various program hosts. Sulayman Kassim, One of the Swahili announcers, says: "One would like to have more freedom in one's own work. I have seen how the announcers of the BBC or Deutsche Welle [The Voice of Germany] have complete responsibility for their work. With us even a musical interlude has to be authorized, and not just once but by a minimum of two superiors."

Petr Vasilyev, editor of English-language programs, says that common sense has triumphed: "We discuss our problems openly now and see things as they really are," he says. Then two hosts of Chinese-language programs give their views:

Wang Xiao states: "Friendly relations were interrupted. That was approximately at the beginning of the 1960's, and it lasted right up until the end of the Cultural

Revolution in China—approximately 30 years. During this period, broadcasting was carried out in the main in heightened tones."

Qing Guoping states: In short we had a kind of competition, so to speak, to see who could shout the other down. That is what it was like at that time.

Wang Xiao continues: Now we have started to talk more about ourselves—who we are, what kind of country the Soviet Union is, what kind of state it is, what is being done in this state, what kind of people live here, what things they do. Because if we want to develop friendly relations, then first and foremost we have to understand each other.

Iosif Adamov says: Well to be honest the changes have been enormous, especially over the last few years. I put this down not so much to the credit of our editorial offices, perhaps, as to glasnost in general in our country, because if one looks at the letters, I say that most letters say nearly one and the same thing: You have changed beyond recognition; such openness, such freedom of expression; we have never heard anything like it from you before. But this once again falls to the credit of the country and those who have brought in glasnost in our country."

Tsvetov then concludes: "Moscow Radio began to speak in foreign tongues 60 years ago. Sixty years is a long period of time. Times have changed, and we have changed with them. But no matter what the tongue in which Moscow Radio was speaking, the language essentially was always the same—the language of internationalism."

The program ends with clips showing studio scenes and audio excerpts of Moscow radio broadcasting in different languages.

News Conference Marks Anniversary

OW2710195689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] A news conference was held in Moscow on 25 October to mark the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio's first foreign-language broadcast. Our reporter filed the following report:

What are the differences between the Soviet Union's foreign-language radio service and the foreign-language services of other countries? Why is our radio service so popular? Our station receives around 200,000 letters from abroad every year. This not insignificant figure is proof of our popularity. Please listen to the remarks of Plevako, the Soviet official in charge of foreign- language radio service.

[Begin Plevako recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] There are certain characteristics of our broadcast service that explain our popularity. First, our programs are broadcast in different languages. We try as much as possible to broadcast our programs in the languages of our listeners.

The content of our programs is designed chiefly to attract the attention of our listeners to the Soviet Union. Our perestroyka has become a matter of interest to the whole world. The letters we have received indicate that its fate is not a matter of little concern among people of other countries. Its progress and outcome will affect world stability. The nature of our programs also has changed undoubtedly as a result of years of perestroyka. More stress has been laid on news reporting. We have tried as much as possible to introduce the views of politicians, journalists, scholars, and ordinary citizens on major Soviet domestic issues. We do not report only the positive side of Soviet life.

While criticizing life in our nation, we still must testify that the USSR is not corroding but reviving socialism. We are glad to point out that our Chinese colleague, Comrade (Zhang Lean) of Radio Beijing's Moscow office, is among the foreign journalists attending this conference. At our request, he discussed Moscow Radio's Chinese service. His talk will be aired in our "Hello, China" program in the near future. [end recording]

Program Director on Changes

LD2710092589 Moscow International Service in Polish 1500 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Moscow Radio's international program is celebrating its 60th anniversary. [passage omitted]

[Aleksandr Plevako, director of Moscow Radio's international service, in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] The new [words indistinct] of life has changed the face of Moscow Radio. It has become an instrument of international trust; we don't [word indistinct] our reality. We speak the truth about what is being carried out in the USSR.

It is based on the fact that the restructuring process is not an easy one. We talk about everything that is happening here. If there are strikes, then we talk about strikes; if there are conflicts of a nationality nature, then we also talk about this. Socialism at present is at an interim stage; it is returning to the Leninist principles, it is going through a self-cleansing process. [passage omitted]

Chinese Relations Viewed

OW3110032789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Oct 89

[From the "Youth Program"]

[Text] The 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio's foreign broadcast service falls on 29 October. This station now broadcasts in 66 languages, and our broadcasts can be heard throughout the world. The following is an article written by (Mesko), an editor of this station's youth program, on the occasion of this anniversary:

I love to hear comments by Chinese listeners on our youth program. It is gratifying that the relations between our two countries have remarkably improved in recent years. Dear

friends, what do we see as an indication of the improved relations? It is the letters that you have sent us. We did not receive letters from you for more than 20 years, and this situation continued until several years ago. My young colleagues here who joined the radio in the last 10 years could only listen to the accounts given by older colleagues on how this station received large numbers of letters from Chinese listeners, mostly from young listeners, in the 1950's. Of course, we understand why, but we hope that the unpleasant past will remain a past event forever. The main purpose of our youth program is to help young people in our two countries understand each other and develop friendship among themselves. We are very glad that our listeners welcome this purpose.

For instance, Comrade (Xu Wenhong) wrote in his letter: Through the radio waves, you have built a bridge of Soviet-Chinese friendship and consolidated the friendship between the peoples of our two countries. Hearing your voice is like hearing the friendly voice of the Soviet people.

(Chen Xiaoxia) from Beijing has congratulated Moscow Radio on its 60th anniversary. He wrote in his letter: Listening to your broadcast makes me feel that the relations between our two countries are close. I am happy to hear about reform achievements in the USSR.

Dear listeners, thank you. Please be assured that we regard your comments as the most important appraisal of our work.

I attended an international festival of youth and college students in Pyongyang this summer. The meeting of Soviet and Chinese youth after 30 years of interruption was the most unforgettable event during that festival. I hope that the Chinese youth I met in Pyongyang are listening to our broadcast at this moment. I give them my regards.

When I was in Pyongyang, I saw the minutes of the talks between the leaders of the Soviet Komsomol and the Chinese Communist Youth League. I am talking about the visit to China by a delegation of the Soviet Komsomol led by Mironenko, the first secretary of its Central Committee. During the visit, the two major youth organizations reached an important agreement on cooperation. We hope that the agreement will become an important milestone on the road of contacts between Soviet and Chinese youth.

On the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio, it is a time to sum up experience and analyze shortcomings. We know that we have many shortcomings. We hope that you will help us overcome our shortcomings. Dear friends, please do not hesitate to write us, point out our shortcomings, and give us your suggestions and comments. We share the same purpose: to make the broadcast more interesting so that it will not waste listeners' time. With your comments, we will work even harder.

Bulgarian Service's Feature

AU2910190489

[Editorial Report] Moscow International Service in Bulgarian at 1700 GMT on 29 October carries a 30-minute special feature devoted to the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio broadcasts in foreign languages. The feature consists of greetings messages from Bulgarian listeners, recollections of veteran Bulgarian listeners, as well as remembrances of Radio Moscow announcers and music.

The announcer says that "broadcasts in Bulgarian began in April, 1941." A Bulgarian listener imparts recollections of a student demonstration in Sofia which took place on 24 May 1941, at which some slogans were for "alliance with the USSR" and for "evicting the German troops from Bulgarian territory." The same listener describes "his happiness and the happiness of his friends, when they were told several days later that Moscow Radio had reported their demonstration."

Bulgarian listener Tsvetan (Leventin) from Plovdiv says that "listening to Radio Moscow was the only way to learn the truth during the period of World War II." He describes how on a certain day during the war policemen appeared in their home and "fixed their radio receiver so that only the official Sofia stations could be listened to." Nevertheless, a few days later he and his family were surprised when Moscow Radio in Bulgarian, under the name of Naroden Glas, or People's Voice, started broadcasting on the frequencies of the official Sofia stations, "immediately countering the lies of the official announcers with the truth." In this context, he mentions the name Stanke Dimitrov as one of the leading announcers of Moscow Radio in Bulgarian.

Other Bulgarian listeners remember the more recent years and mention the names of Moscow Radio announcer Olga Vladimirovna and other favorite Moscow Radio announcers. The program ends with other Bulgarian listeners giving their impressions of meeting Moscow Radio journalists in Bulgaria, as well as their recollections of visits to the Bulgarian-language Editorial Board of Moscow Radio.

Albanian Beam's Anniversary Program

AU2910183189

[Editorial Report] Moscow in Albanian to Albania at 1500 GMT on 28 October broadcasts a special 27-minute feature devoted to the 60th anniversary of foreign broadcasts, interspersed with musical interludes.

An announcer begins by stating that the first foreign-language broadcast by Radio Moscow was in German. She then states that the first medium-wave band broadcasts in Albanian took place during the war, but that a regular daily program over shortwave bands began on 28 November 1945. This is followed by an outline of program contents during the postwar years, which the announcer says "included material devoted to Soviet-Albanian cooperation in various fields, interviews with

Albanians visiting the Soviet Union, reports on the activities of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society," and so forth.

This is followed by a 2-minute recording of an excerpt from the speech delivered by Enver Hoxha in February 1956 at the 20th CPSU Congress in which he extols Soviet-Albanian friendship and thanks the Soviet Union for its assistance to Albania, and which the announcer says was broadcast by Radio Moscow at the time.

A former member of the Radio's Albanian section is then interviewed about a special program in which she used to answer letters from Albanian listeners during the 1950's. She also talks about her contacts with Albanian students and about her impressions from visits to Albania.

The announcer mentions the break between the Soviet Union and Albania, attributing the blame to Khrushchev.

A member of the editorial board, Aleksandr Plevako, is then quoted on the current policies governing foreign broadcasts, stating that Moscow Radio's prestige has grown and that a large number of letters are addressed to it by foreign listeners who are anxious to learn about perestroyka and glasnost, because "we are telling the truth about what is happening in our country."

The announcer then introduces the "head" of the Albanian section of Moscow Radio, who mentions the times of the four daily broadcasts in Albanian and reiterates that the policy is to acquaint Albanian listeners with various aspects of life in the Soviet Union, "primarily with perestroyka," and outlines the contents of various programs. He says that Moscow Radio's new policy is a "departure from the distortions of Stalinism." A major aim of the Albanian-language broadcasts is to "renew the friendship between the Soviet and Albanian peoples," a friendship that "was forged in the years of the struggle against the common enemy." He goes on to say: "We are convinced that the present state of relations between our countries is contrary to the genuine interests of our peoples and to the common aim of strengthening the positions of socialism in the world," adding: "I personally am convinced that the time will come when the friendship between the Soviet and Albanian peoples will be renewed." He concludes by addressing best wishes to the Albanian people on the occasion of the approaching 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation.

Polish Section's Work Day

LD2910230189 Moscow International Service in Polish 1500 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Today we are inviting you behind the scenes. We will be talking about the history of the Polish desk of Moscow Radio, about programs being prepared, and about those who directly participate in them. [passage omitted] The voice from Moscow was broadcast in October 1929 in German. Afterwards Moscow Radio began broadcasting—almost like a polyglot—in 66 languages, which are still being broadcast. [passage omitted] At the Polish section we are on the air for 10 hours a day—obviously a lot of work. [passage omitted]

The working day in the Polish section continues. About noon those most skilfull return with hot material. [passage omitted] In the record library there are many recordings of people who left their mark on history. [passage omitted] From the record archives we move on to editorial bureaus. Here programs like "Facts and Comments," "On the Trails of Friendship," and "Youth Program" are being prepared. [passage omitted]

As we have already said, work in the section is made easier thanks to listeners' letters. [passage omitted]

An editorial day is coming to an end. First programs are already on the air. Editors are leaving, but not all of them. [passage omitted] One more question: Do you think that Radio Moscow is today competitive on the world airwaves as far as the speed of information is concerned (sergey kurowkin)?

[Begin (Kurowkin) recording in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] As far as events in our country are concerned, I hope this is the case. We have, I hope, proved it. Otherwise, in the nearest future there is faster and better work for us, says the commentator and disappears. [end recording] [Passage omitted]

It is 0100 at night; the city sleeps but in studio 97 there is (Wieslaw Zawarski), who is waiting for the latest news. [passage omitted]

Broadcast to Chile

PY2610162489 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 25 oct 89

[Text] Concerning the 60th anniversary of Moscow International Radio, a news conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen was held in Moscow today.

Here is a report by our correspondent:

Before talking about the news conference, I would like to tell you, my friends, something about the activities of Moscow International Radio.

Our radio station ranks first in the world in terms of the number of languages and the volume of its broadcasts. We report in 77 languages about Soviet events and the problems faced by other countries. We broadcast 300 hours of programs daily to 170 countries and territories. According to our records, an average of 100 million people regularly tune into the broadcasts of Moscow International Radio.

We currently receive about 200,000 letters yearly from our foreign listeners. Thus, as you can see my friends, many people write to us. This large audience could make extremely important radio stations in the world very envious.

Aleksandr Plevako, the chief of Moscow International Radio, has spoken about the features that differentiate our

radio station from other ratio stations. What is the reason for the popularity of our programs? You will agree with me, dear listeners, that to receive 200,000 letters is in itself an impressive fact, isn't it? Yes, we have some peculiar characteristics, says Aleksandr Plevako, and these peculiarities increase our radio station's popularity.

First, our broadcasts are aired in the languages of the different countries. We want to speak in the native language of our listeners.

We take into account the growing interest in Soviet events. Judging from the letters received at our radio station, perestroyka is generally responsible for this interest. Perestroyka is also a cause for concern for other nations because the stability of the entire world will depand on the results of the process of renewal in the Soviet Union.

The content of our programs has greatly changed under perestroyka. We used to participate in the cold war. We listed all the evils of the West, which, in turn, did the same to us. Both the Soviet radio reporters and our Western colleagues had some preconceived ideas.

The nature of our programs has changed radically now. Our programs carry more reports [words indistinct]. We do not resort to that cannibalistic terminology that characterized the old way of thinking and the total absence of mutual confidence.

In the past, everything we said was interpreted abroad as reflecting the Kremlin's viewpoint. Today, our listeners have learned that Moscow International Radio not only expresses the official viewpoint, but also its own opinion.

We try to inform our listeners of the opinions expressed by politicians, newsmen, scientists, and the ordinary people in general. We discuss the most important aspects of our domestic life.

We do not want to make the Soviet current events look rosy. However, by criticizing the negative situations, we want to demonstrate that in the Soviet Union socialism is experiencing a resurgence and not a breakdown.

The newsmen attending the news conference asked for more details on the activities of Moscow International Radio. They were interested in learning about the most important issues in our broadcasts to different countries.

PCCh Congratulations

PY2810152289 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Message to Moscow Radio on its 60th anniversary from the Communist Party of Chile—PCCh—Central Committee, read today on Soviet Central Television]

[Text] Celebrating the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio's broadcasts abroad, Chilean Communists have sent an affectionate and fraternal message to this station, which has played an important role in the defense of the most noble and just causes of mankind.

Inspired by the revolutionary thinking of Lenin and following the internationalist feelings of the Soviet people, Moscow Radio has for 6 decades carried out effective and tireless work in the struggle for peace, socialism, and the liberation of the people and against fascism, imperialism, racial discrimination, and all forms of exploitation of man.

For 16 years Moscow Radio's programs to Chile have brought a message of solidarity and hope to our people and have managed to break the blockade on information established by the military dictatorship. These programs have carried the voice and thinking of the democratic popular forces in an effort to recover the people's liberty.

Moscow Radio has thus engaged in the struggle and history of our fatherland. We want to extend, therefore, the everlasting recognition of the Chilean people.

Persian Service's Background

NC3010101089 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Feature devoted to the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio's International Services]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Moscow Radio's programs for foreign listeners were heard for the first time on 29 October 1929 in German. But now Moscow Radio broadcasts in 77 languages.

It was on 23 June 1941—one day after Fascist Germany's attack on the Soviet Union—that the words "This is Moscow" were heard in Persian. Radio Moscow carried a monthly musical program beamed to Iran even as far back as February 1938.

However, we consider 23 June 1941 as the official date on which the programs for Iran started, since from that day on, programs for Iran were broadcast daily and we [words indistinct] informed our Iranian listeners of Soviet life, history, and culture and of the stands of the Soviet people and government on international issues. [Passage omitted]

African Service Highlighted

LD2910220789

[Editorial Report] Moscow in English to Africa at 1700 GMT on 29 October broadcasts a 25-minute feature devoted to the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio and the broadcasts of the African service, which go out in 14 languages. More than 100 editors, producers, translators, announcers, commentators, correspondents, and musical editors work at the station on Pyatnitskaya Street. Favorable comments on Moscow's output from a Congolese broadcasting official are then heard. THe African service first went on the air in 1961, in Amharic. Many who launched the African Service are still with it; for example Swahili announcer Vyacheslav Kudryavtsev, who recalls the broadcasters' and listeners' mutual lack of knowledge of each other's countries in the early days.

The announcer says: "There were, of course, some curious mistakes when we made our first steps. Thinking he would improve the quality of recording of a commentary in Zulu, an inexperienced operator cut out all the clicking sounds on the tape, considering them to be defects in the tape. Fortunately the mistake was noticed in time and did not go on the air, but it was made much fun of at our staff's friendly evening parties."

There follows a recording from 1963 of Yuriy Gagarin, from the service's library. Brief details are given of outside translation work undertaken by service staff. The service receives over 30,000 letters a year from Africa and has listeners' clubs in almost all countries.

The announcer concludes: "Our manned spacecraft, the African Service of Radio Moscow, was put into orbit in 1961, the same year as Yuriy Gagarin. Today our crew seems fine and all systems are working normally. Our flight continues."

SRV Diplomat's Greeting

BK2710055589 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Statement by SRV Moscow Embassy Press Attache Duong Duc Dung during recent visit to Moscow Radio's Vietnamese-language service on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio International Services—recorded]

[Text] It is a great honor to be assigned by the comrade ambassador to express best wishes to Moscow Radio's Vietnamese-language service on the occasion of its 38th anniversary and to Moscow Radio's international services on the occasion of its 60th anniversary. Please accept our warmest greetings to all of you comrades.

The contents of Moscow Radio broadcasts have constantly been improved and are very familiar to the Vietnamese people. At home we listen to Moscow Radio and we are very happy every time we hear the announcement "This is Radio Moscow."

In view of the current restructuring in the Soviet Union and the renovation in Vietnam, we think that Moscow Radio should broadcast more news about the Soviet Union. We also hope that Moscow Radio will serve as a bridge of friendship linking the Soviet Union and Vietnam and enhancing the relations of all-round cooperation between the two countries.

We would like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to wish you comrades good health, happiness, and still-greater achievements in your work.

Vietnamese Beam's Commentary

BK3010105989 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] On 27 October, Moscow Radio commemorated its 60th anniversary. Our station commentator writes:

We did not organize lavish activities to commemorate our radio station's anniversary, although there are things to tell and remember. Many cadres of Moscow Radio's International Service have retired, but, through letters from our listeners, these cadres have not been forgotten. Our station's veteran cadres still clearly remember developments over the past 60 years by the station, which began its first foreign broadcasting program in German.

At present, Radio Moscow's International Service is the biggest broadcasting corporation in the world. Our station broadcasts regular programs to countries on five continents. Moreover, we serve the world with English and Russian language programs and broadcast news and information in German, French, Spanish, and Arabic.

In commemoration of this year's anniversary, Comrade Nenashev, chairman of the Soviet Television and Radio Broadcasting Commission said: The Soviet Union daily carries 300-hours of programs in 77 languages with listeners numbering in the tens of millions. In our current programs, among other things, we carry talks and exchanges of views and present facts about our democratic reforms, which will benefit all people. In the new stage, broadcasting cadres must carry out this task satisfactorily.

Indeed, Moscow Radio's International Service now maintains relations with listeners in 160 countries in various regions. Members of 800 clubs of foreign listeners consistently tune in to Moscow Radio. Letters from our foreign listeners say events in our country's daily life have helped encourage people in nations throughout the world. Moscow Radio's international service's efforts to present new concepts and maintain its openness and public characteristics have helped it gain more listeners with each passing day.

In this connection, Comrade Plevako, head of Moscow Radio's International Service said: During the years of implementing restructuring, the prestige of Moscow Radio has been enhanced remarkably. Statements by Soviet party and state leaders as well as talks by people's deputies, scholars, and workers which have been carried by Moscow Radio have helped listeners in foreign countries clearly understand the process of restructuring, as well as its difficulties and achievements. These speakers on Moscow Radio have told foreign listeners about revolutionary reforms in our society. They have talked about issues and measures to resolve difficulties, as well as other issues that listeners have asked about. Today, more than 100 million people listen to Radio Moscow.

Dear listeners, we have already received many letters from you. The letters that are the most valuable to us are the ones that contain criticism and contribute constructive ideas. We are always willing to hear from you and will do our best to improve our programs in order to make them more effective, useful, and attractive. This is the aim of our task and the significance of our life.

Finnish Service Reminisces

LD2010185189

[Editorial Report] Moscow International Service in Finnish at 1530 GMT on 19 October broadcasts a 15-minute program devoted to the 60th anniversary of Radio Moscow's International Service and the 50th anniversary of Radio Moscow's Finnish-language section.

Reporter Pirkko Kuivala explains that "the Finnish-language section was established in the late autumn of 1939. Finnish is now one of the 66 languages in which Radio Moscow broadcasts 230 hours of programs per day to 150 countries."

Kuivala goes on to describe how Radio Moscow has reported on everyday life and festivities, developments at the front during World War II, space exploration, the Soviet Union's peace initiatives, and now on the policies of perestroyka and glasnost. He states that Radio Moscow has always striven to give an accurate potrayal of news events, and quotes from a listener's letter describing Moscow's reporting during World War II. "Moscow reported in the evening what had happened, for instance, at Tempere and elsewhere that morning. Other radio stations reported on the attacks and activities of the Germans. According to German information, by the end of October 1941 the Soviet Union had lost so many aircraft and guns, as well as men, that there were only remnants left. But, of course, this was not the case, and Moscow reported this."

Kuivala then presents a voice recording of a retired employee of the Moscow Radio Finnish section, who describes the announcement on 10 November 1941 that radio broadcasts to Finland would start the following day, "two 15-minute broadcasts, the first at 0900 hours in the morning and the second at 2345 hours in the evening."

Kuivala introduces the head of the department, under whom work the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish-language sections as well. "The working day usually begins with the compiling of the program, which changes during the day as developments occur and situations change."

There are three journalists in the Finnish section; one specializes in Soviet-Finnish economic relations, another in cultural news, and the third deals with correspondence and plans the "Mailbag" programs. There are two announcers and two translators. The radio also has "freelancers," who specialize in life in Soviet Karelia, for instance.

Kuivala says that Moscow Radio's Finnish section has three broadcasts daily. "The first lasts half an hour, starting at 1730 in the evening. The second lasts an hour and starts at 1830 in the evening. The evening's last broadcast is for half an hour, starting at 2200 hours. Unfortunately there is not enough transmission time to give all kinds of information about the Soviet Union. I would like more program time for domestic policy. At the same time it would be interesting to have Soviet people's views on matters, not to mention those of the program producers. But glasnost is good and aiming at democracy. We have taken listeners' wishes into account and recently increased Finnish-language transmissiosn time by a half hour. As I said, this broadcast starts at 2200 hours Finnish time. We hope that it will expand familiarity with the Soviet Union."

Portuguese Beam's Commemoration

LD2110224989 Moscow in Portuguese to Portugal 2100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] This year Radio Moscow marks its 60th anniversary. There have been several generations of announcers, translators, radio journalists and sub-editors since the first broadcast for foreign listeners was beamed from Moscow 60 years ago. Prominent social figures and statesmen from several countries have collaborated with Moscow Radio, including the internationalist revolutionaries Giorgiy Dimitrov, Dolores Ibarruri, Palmiro Togliatti and Maurice Thorez.

The first broadcast 60 years ago was in German. Now the voice of Radio Moscow goes out in 66 languages, Portuguese included. We hand over the microphone to Aleksandr Plevako of the Moscow Radio management:

[Plevako in Russian with superimposed Portuguese translation] Tens of thousands of people worldwide tune in every day to listen to Radio Moscow's reports on the wide-ranging process of perestroyka, on how the new political thinking is gaining mounting support, on what Mikhail Gorbachev says and does.

Life's new realities have changed the face of Moscow Radio. It has become an instrument for building confidence among the peoples. We do not embelish our accounts of life today, we tell the truth about what is happening in our country. And the truth is that the process of perestroyka is very complicated. We speak of all that happens in the USSR. If strikes are held in our country, we report them. If ethnic clashes occur, we likewise mention the fact.

Socialism is now going through a transition stage, returning to Leninist principles, cleansing itself. Moscow Radio reflects the processes unfolding in the country. And we are fully justified in stating that our collective—about 1,500 people—are performing a noble task by conveying to our foreign listeners the truth about our country.

Indian Languages Service

BK3010151589 Moscow in Hindi to India 1400 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Moscow Radio International Service, which is celebrating its 60th anniversary this year, broadcasts its programs in 77 foreign languages, including 12 Indian languages. Ours is the largest department housed in a huge building located a short distance from historic Red Square on Pyatniskaya Road in the center of the capital. [Recording of chimes]. This is the sound of the Kremlin clock tower. In summer, the chimes of this clock is clearly heard through the open

windows of our building, and when this huge Kremlin clock strikes 1430, the following words are carried over the air by the Moscow Radio transmitter: This is Radio Moscow. Now, we present our program in Hindi.

The broadcasts in 12 Indian languages and the receipt of more than 2,000 letters from listeners in every nook and cranny of India every month speak of our present form, but our beginning was completely different. Here is (Anna Kovalinkova)—one of the first group of broadcasters to address Indian listeners on the Radio Moscow microphone—discussing our beginning:

[(Kovalinkova)] We started broadcasting programs for India in the spring of 1942, which was a very worrisome time. The Soviet people's bloody confrontation with the Hitlerite fascists was going on, and it was posing a threat to the very survival of the Soviet Union. The fascist forces were rapidly moving forward toward the Volga River and the Caucasus mountains. The fighting raging along the banks of the great Russian river was being viewed with great anxiety and concern everywhere—in Delhi and Washington, Rangoon and London, Oslo and Prague. Stalingrad's name was on everyone's lips.

Our Indian-language programs echoed in the air as a symbol of hope and courage. It was our immense desire to familiarize the listeners with our viewpoints and beliefs. Our Indian friends greatly needed hope, courage, and confidence as much as we Soviets did. If the Germans had occupied the lower region of the Volga and the Caucasus, it would have paved the way for the aggressors to move toward the east, toward Asia. And it was not a coincidence that after capturing Burma, the Japanese forces were preparing to launch an attack on India without delay. Documents which later came to light revealed the details of discussions between Germany and Japan in which they drew a line of demarcation between their imperialist property in Asia. That line passed through India, cutting it at the 17th latitude. Mahatma Gandhi fully understood this grave danger, and he emphasized that if the Nazi strategists' schemes were executed, India would cease to exist.

We believed that whatever we were saying to the listeners from our studio was important, but we doubted if we were really being heard. Of course, we were being heard. We first received letters from the Indian soldiers fighting against German General Rommel's African forces. The soldiers wrote us that the success of the Red Army reinforced their hopes of gaining a decisive victory against the fascists. They were also hopeful that after victory, India would gain independence. [passage omitted]

A great deal of time has passed since the spring of 1942. Now, Moscow Radio programs are broadcast not only in Hindustani, but also in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Gujarati, Kannada, Assamese, and Oriya. [passage omitted]

Dear friends. Moscow Radio's International Service has completed 60 years, and our Indian section is actively engaged in broadcasting its programs, for which we have adequate strength. By strength, I do not mean techniques or other materials, but the people, because they are the main strength behind any work. While reviewing the past today, we would like to thank our Indian colleagues, first of all. [passage omitted]

Radio Peace and Progress Tribute

NC3010211889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Our colleagues at Radio Moscow are celebrating a big festival these days. Sixty years ago, Soviet radio programs for foreign listeners were heard on the air for the first time. In the course of 6 decades, an interesting and long road has been traversed. It is true that at present Moscow Radio is the biggest organization of its kind in the world, especially in terms of the number of its programs, 300 hours of which are broadcast in 77 foreign languages in a given 24-hour period. Its coverage extends to 160 countries. [passage omitted]

Today it may be openly stated that restructuring in our country and the new trends in our life have also affected the image of Moscow Radio. We confirm the remarks by Aleksandr Plevako, director general of the Soviet radio's external services, that our programs have (?in fact) inspired (?confidence) among nations. We have personal and cordial ties with many of the correspondents of Moscow Radio. Some of us began our work with Moscow Radio, and the experiences gleaned there gave our radio station the opportunity to stand on its own feet and to celebrate another anniversary, that is, its 25th anniversary on 1 November. [passage omitted].

United States & Canada

Gorbachev, Bush To Hold Pre-Summit Meeting in Dec

TASS Report on 'Informal Meeting'

LD3110171589 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush will hold their first official summit on December 2-3 this year aboard Soviet and U.S. warships in the Mediterranean, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said at a news conference here today.

By agreement with the U.S. side, the announcement was read simultaneously in Moscow and Washington.

"As the two sides plan to hold a full-scale summit in late spring-early summer next year, they found it useful, I'd even say necessary, to hold an interim informal meeting," Shevardnadze said.

The forthcoming talks will be "informal in nature and designed to allow them to become better acquainted with one another and deepen the understanding of one another's views," the minister went on.

He pointed out that the sides "do not set themselves the task of achieving agreements on any specific issues and areas during the December meeting."

Shevardnadze said the Mediterranean meeting should be regarded as a most important stage in preparations for the talks to be held in the United States during Gorbachev's official visit.

"I have no doubts that the December meeting of the two leaders will promote the development and deepening of the positive changes which have been taking place in Soviet-American relations in the past few years and which have such a positive effect on the general warming of the world political climate," he said.

The minister pointed out that the Mediterranean talks will be "open, frank and have the nature of an absolutely free dialogue."

He did not rule out that the two leaders "will adopt some directives to their foreign ministers and other representatives of our countries to prepare the official talks in Washington after this dialogue."

Shevardnadze News Conference

LD3110230289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1910 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 31 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, today held a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

He said: Before making my main report, I would like to make a brief amplification. We reached a mutual understanding, even an accord, with the U.S. Administration, that a meeting with the press would take place simultaneously in both Moscow and Washington. The time was even precisely defined—1000 Washington time, 1800 Moscow time. However, it so happened that U.S. journalists with whom I personally have good relations and whom I greatly respect, to a certain degree anticipated us, and the first reports about a possible Soviet-U.S. summit have appeared in the U.S. mass media, in particular,"THE WASHINGTON POST" newspaper. But not all the details were given. It is good when the press anticipates events, though sometimes negative aspects can arise when it does. However, in this case, I see nothing negative about it.

So, I have been instructed by the Soviet leadership to tell you the following.

"In accordance with an accord reached between the sides, a meeting will take place on 2-3 December of this year between M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President G. Bush. The meeting will take place, by turns, aboard an American and a Soviet warship in the Mediterranean Sea.

In view of the fact that a full-scale Soviet-U.S. summit in the United States is planned for the end of spring, beginning of summer 1990, both sides have considered it useful at this point in time to hold such an interim unofficial summit.

The upcoming talks between the Soviet and U.S. leaders will be unofficial nature and will be directed at getting to know each other better, and at deepening understanding of each other's views. Moreover, the sides are not setting themselves the task of achieving agreements on any specific matters during this unofficial meeting."

undoubtedly, The forthcoming meeting will be a major political act. It should be seen as a most important stage of preparations for the talks to be held in the United States during comrade M.S. Gorbachev's official visit.

I have no doubt that the two leader's upcoming meeting will promote the development and deepening of those positive trends that have taken root in Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years, and which are having such a favorable influence on the general warming up of the political climate on our planet.

Naturally, the meeting will be open and frank. It will be an absolutely free dialogue. however, It is not excluded that the leaders of the USSR and the United States will approve some kind of directives and give instructions to the ministers of foreign affairs and other of our countries' representatives pertaining to preparations for the official talks in Washington.

as I have already said. It goes without saying that the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting will be a major event in the political life of our planet. That is all that I want to report on that matter.

The second thing is that the official visit by comrade B. Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, to the Soviet Union, is now underway. The first round of official talks has been held at the ministerial level. This afternoon, a very important talk took place between B. Loncar and M.S. Gorbachev, which is of fundamental significance for Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

Soviet-Yugoslav talks will be continued tomorrow. Our dialogue is taking place in an exceptionally comradely and friendly atmosphere. We have already managed to discuss some fundamental problems of bilateral Soviet-Yugoslav relations. We have examined questions of economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation, and of contacts between people. We have exchanged opinions on a number of aspects of European security and of the Nonaligned Movement, since Yugoslavia is the chairman of that most important forum. We have also discussed some questions of world economic order.

As I have already said, the talks will continue tomorrow.

In conclusion, I shall say that we regard B. Loncar's present visit as an important stage in Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze went on to answer questions from journalists.

Question: Why has the Mediterranean been chosen for the meeting? Indeed, why were warships chosen? In this period of detente, perhaps it would be better not to meet on warships. I would also like to know what fundamental questions were discussed between Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Loncar and M.S. Gorbachev?

Answer: Why was the Mediterranean chosen? Other possibilities were discussed, but the two leaders concluded that the Mediterranean was the most suitable; it suits both the United States of America and the USSR.

As far as the warships are concerned, I do not see any problem here at all. The main thing is that the meeting will take place and that the dialogue will be continued.

You are interested in what fundamental questions were discussed at the conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and B. Loncar—mainly questions of perestroyka and the renewal of socialism and socialist society. You know that very complex, difficult processes of renewal are taking place both in Yugoslav society and in the USSR which are of great significance for our countries, and not just for our countries alone. These were the problems which were discussed during the conversation. In my opinion, it was very interesting both on a conceptual level and from the point of view of specific problems.

Question: Can you specify on whose initiative the Soviet-American meeting is being organized? It would also be interesting to know near which town in the Mediterranean region it will take place.

Answer: I would call on you not to seek out the "guilty party" in this matter. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and President G. Bush had a mutual wish to meet. I think that we ought to welcome such a wish and the decision itself to hold a meeting. That is the main thing. As for the town nearest to the place where the meeting will be held, I know what it is but I cannot tell you. I am bound by my word. Wait a little while, you will hear what it is in due course.

Question: Which ships will provide the meeting place? And one more professional question: How will the press operate at this summit meeting, or have warships been chosen precisely to exclude the press from covering this meeting?

Answer: I know what ships we are talking about but I won't name them at this time. One cannot exclude the possibility of changes. I don't think this is very significant. A second point with regard to relations with the press. I will perhaps disappoint you if I say that there is indeed a desire to limit access by the press, since the meeting will be strictly unofficial. Perhaps this is easier to ensure on warships.

Question: Tell me please, has the situation in the European socialist countries had an influence on speeding up a summit meeting?

Answer: It has had no influence. In my view such thinking could have many correlations. For example, how has the situation in Central America had an influence? Or in the Near East, or around Cambodia, and so on.

The meeting is being held independent of the situation in various regions. This idea materialized; it is a truly progressive, necessary, and good idea, I think, and we should all welcome the fact that it is being implemented.

Question: Perhaps, the people of the Near East have been lucky that the leaders of two great powers will be meeting near that region and the cannonade in Lebanon will be audible on the ships. Will problems of the Near East and Lebanon be discussed? How do they look to you at the present time?

Answer: When I was talking about the forthcoming meeting I did not mention that it will take place without an agenda. This does not mean that nothing will be discussed at it. It goes without saying that one expects an in-depth exchange of views on all acute problems which worry the modern world. I do not exclude, but rather suppose that the problems of a Near East settlement will also find a worthy place during this discussion and this meeting.

Question: Since M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush have decided to meet on maritime territory, perhaps naval

problems will occupy a central place at the meeting? Could you comment on this thought?

The second question: The Norwegian prime minister has persistently come out in favor of a unilateral reduction of Soviet naval forces in the Kola Peninsula. What is your reaction to this?

Answer: as far as dialogue on naval forces is concerned, we would welcome it, if that were an in-depth and specific dialogue at the meeting. You know our position and our interest in holding talks on naval forces. Secondly, concerning the Norwegian prime minister's statement, our position was set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's Helsinki speech.

Question: There are reports that the meeting will concentrate on how the United States can help the Soviet Union's economic restructuring. Is this so? And what can the United States do to help the Soviet Union economically?

Answer: I would ask that this term "help the Soviet Union in perestroyka" not be taken up [brat na vooruzheniye]. Our people are carrying out perestroyka. We ourselves ought to implement the plans of perestroyka. It is another matter that we are in favor of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic and commercial spheres, with the United States, Western Europe, and Japan, and with all other states alike. However, it is a question of, I stress, equal and mutually beneficial cooperation. I shall say frankly that when they say "help the Soviet Union," our national self esteem is wounded because we have everything to implement the plans for perestroyka and to carry out to a logical conclusion the matter which has begun. However, international cooperation and the external peace which is favorable to it undoubtedly will help us implement our plans. I repeat, the forthcoming meeting is not connected with perestroyka in the Soviet Union.

Question: The third anniversary of the "Intifada," the heroic uprising of the Palestinian people against the Israeli occupationists, will be in a few days. What can you say about this and how do you see the matter of peace in the Middle East drawing nearer?

Answer: We have spoken on several occasions about these problems. As you know, various settlement plans exist: a 10-point plan, a 5-point plan, a "Shamir plan", and other plans, other thoughts. I think that everything that is rational in these plans and all the proposals put forward by different states and political figures need to be taken up [brat na vooruzheniye]. That is the first thing.

The second point. One should start acting in practice. This is precisely what we intend to do now, for we have certain interesting ideas and considerations. One ought to start consultations between UN Security Council permanent members. In our view, this is the most important thing that should be done at the current stage. We are in favor of contacts between the U.S. Administration and the PLO. We are also in favor of contacts between all interested parties.

Question: When you said that the summit will have an informal nature, this, to a degree, reminded me of the Reykjavik meeting, which also had a basically informal nature, although in Reykjavik the Soviet Union presented, as you well remember, detailed and profound proposals on limiting the arms race. Are not you expecting anything similar from this informal summit? Will there be any major proposal from the Soviet Union this time, too?

E.A. Shevardnadze: I have a counterquestion. Are you for the Reykjavik option?

Correspondent: Of course, it is by far a more interesting option for a journalist.

E.A. Shevardnadze: Let us wait. The main thing is that the meeting will take place.

Further on News Conference

LD3110193989 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent: During their first official summit on December 2-3 aboard Soviet and U.S. warships in the Mediterranean, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush will exchange views on all acute world problems, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said today.

He announced the forthcoming summit to Soviet and foreign journalists here.

"The decision to hold such a meeting was mutual," he said. Both leaders came to the conclusion that the Mediterranean was the most proper site for both countries.

On disarmament in the naval sphere, the Soviet minister said the Soviet Union favours "profound and substantial dialogue" on the problem.

Asked about possible U.S. aid to the Soviet Union in implementing perestroika, Shevardnadze requested journalists not to use the word "aid."

"Perestroika is being implemented by the Soviet people, and the country has everything it needs to carry out its plans," he said.

At the same time, he noted that the Soviet Union hopes for equitable and mutually advantageous economic and commercial cooperation with the United States, Western Europe, Japan and other countries.

He said "cooperation and a favourable external world no doubt, will help implement these plans."

Speaking about the prospects for a Middle East settlement, Shevardnadze pointed to the need "to adopt all rational elements in plans and proposals of various countries and political figures."

He emphasised the importance of a transition to practical steps. "The Soviet Union, in principle, favours differing solutions to problems," he said, adding that "the most important thing is to act."

Shevardnadze said the Soviet and U.S. sides had come to preliminary agreement to reduce access to the summit for the press, since the meeting will be unofficial.

PRAVDA on Shevardnadze Briefing

PM3110224589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Accord Reached on Meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and George Bush: E.A. Shevardnadze News Conference"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, held a news conference on 31 October for Soviet and foreign journalists. He made the following statement on the Soviet leadership's behalf:

"In line with the accord reached between the sides, a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush will take place on 2 and 3 December this year. The meeting will take place in turn aboard an American and Soviet warship in the Mediterranean.

"In view of the fact that a full-scale Soviet-American summit meeting in the United States is scheduled for the end of the spring and beginning of the summer 1990 the two sides deemed it useful at this point to hold an interim unofficial meeting.

"The upcoming talks between the Soviet and American leaders will be unofficial in nature and will be aimed at getting to know each other better and deepening understanding of each other's views. Here the sides are not setting themselves the task of achieving agreements on any specific questions during this unofficial meeting.

"The upcoming meeting will certainly be a major political act. It should be regarded as a very important stage in preparing for the talks which will take place in the United States during Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's official visit.

"I have no doubt that the two leaders' upcoming meeting will help develop and deepen those positive trends which have grown stronger in Soviet-American relations in recent years and which exert such a salutary influence on the general warming of the political climate on our planet.

"The meeting will naturally be open and frank in nature. There will be an absolutely free dialogue. However, it is not ruled out that the Soviet and American leaders will approve some kind of directives and issue instructions to foreign ministers and other of our countries' representatives involved with preparing the official talks in Washington.

"As I have already said, the Soviet-American summit will undoubtedly be a major event in the political life of our planet."

E.A. Shevardnadze then went on to answer journalists' questions.

Bush on Upcoming U.S.-USSR Summit

LD3110231789 Moscow TASS in English 2303 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Washington November 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

President George Bush told a news conference in the White House on Tuesday that he would meet Soviet President Gorbachev for their first summit on December 2 and 3 aboard U.S. and Soviet naval vessels in the Mediterranean.

"Our discussions will cover the current international situation and developments in U.S.-Soviet relations," Bush said in a brief statement.

"In view of the full-scale U.S.-Soviet summit to be held in the United States during the late spring or early summer of 1990, President Gorbachev and I have agreed that an interim informal meeting at this time would be appropriate.

"Our talks will be informal in character designed to allow us to become better acquainted with one another and to deepen our respective understanding of each other's views.

"Neither President Gorbachev nor I anticipate that substantial decisions or agreements will emerge from this December meeting".

Replying to questions from journalists, President Bush stated that "there will be talk of a wide array of subjects without a specific agenda".

"I want to talk to him about their economy, our economy, a wide array of subjects. I've said over and over again, we want to see perestroika succeed," President Bush said further.

President Bush pointed out that a wide array of regional issues of the Western hemisphere and Eastern Europe would be discussed at the December summit. He said he would surely seek to understand from Gorbachev "as clearly as possible his aspirations for perestroika".

"I am looking forward to this meeting," President Bush said in closing. "I think it's the right thing to be doing. The fate of a lot of countries are wrapped up in how the United States and the Soviet Union get along".

Positive U.S. Reaction to Summit

LD0111095589 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash:

An official report on the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, announced simultaneously in Moscow and Washington, evoked great interest among political and diplomatic circles in Washington and is being lively discussed by U.S. press organisations.

The UPI news agency calls "unprecedented" an understanding reached between the Soviet and American leaders about the Mediterranean summit.

In its opinion, the meeting will undoubtedly promote a favourable atmosphere for a Soviet-American summit in the United States and progress in relations between the two great powers.

In its turn, the AP news agency writes that "the shipboard meeting may answer the question of how far the president is willing to go to assist the nation that has been a cold war adversary for more than a generation".

Analysts note that the tradition of shipboard summits was initiated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In August 1941 he met British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on board a U.S. cruiser and then on a British battleship off Newfoundland.

That summit prompted the drafting of the Atlantic Charter and the coordination of actions between the U.S. and British armed forces in the Second World War.

The UPI agency writes that the forthcoming shipboard summit between President Bush and Soviet leader Gorbachev will be held during a special period characterised by greater warmth in relations between the two countries.

Influential U.S. political and public figures welcomed the news of the planned Soviet-American summit. Senate Democratic majority leader George Mitchell told TASS that he regards the summit as an event of great international importance and sincerely hails it.

He added that President Bush wishes success to Soviet perestroika. Most U.S. congressmen have a similar wish. They hope that the summit will be fruitful and that both powers will benefit by it.

In turn, Margaret Chapman, a leader of the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations, said that the summit meeting between the leaders of the two countries is a good and promising sign of the normalisation and gradual development of Soviet-American relations.

She noted that the American people wish to expand U.S.-Soviet economic cooperation and hope that the meeting between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev will contribute to the development of bilateral trade and economic relations, which would benefit both nations.

The forthcoming summit signifies a qualitatively new stage in American-Soviet relations, retired Rear Admiral Gene la Rocque, director of the prestigious Center for Defence Information, told TASS.

La Rocque believes that the meeting is very important both for the United States and the USSR. It will be held at a time when the international situation is changing for the better, largely thanks to efforts by the U.S. and Soviet leaders.

La Rocque added that the summit would enable the two leaders to get to know each other better and would help improve Soviet-American relations as a whole.

It is very important and desirous that the summit should be fruitful, U.S. political and public figure William Fulbright said in an interview with TASS.

It is beneficial for leaders of the two countries to meet and discuss important international problems and the state of Soviet- American relations, he continued. He also hoped that the summit would help cut the immense amount of military spending.

Professor John Kenneth Galbraith said that the summit would justify the hopes of nations if it examines the entire range of questions facing American-Soviet relations.

He believed that the meeting would also discuss the situation in the East European socialist countries, some of which experience economic difficulties, as does the Soviet Union. But the two presidents should not by-pass key problems, including the promotion of positive trends in American-Soviet relations.

In addition, great opportunities are now opening to cut U.S. and Soviet military spending substantially and to achieve new understandings in arms control, the scientist noted.

U.S. Seen 'Condoning' South Africa-Israel Deal

LD2610204289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 26 Oct 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Excerpts] NBC TV, referring to CIA and Pentagon data, reported that Israel is secretly passing to the South African regime the technology for producing nuclear missiles.

The combination of the apartheid system and weapons of mass destruction, will be, in NBC's view, a fusion of death. One cannot fail to agree with this kind of evaluation. But what is interesting is that although Washington has a complete report on the secret nuclear missile cooperation between Israel and South Africa, they not

only do not contest this, but they are apparently condoning this deal! Evidently, here we have a clear violation of the international agreement on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, under which is also the signature of the United States of America. However, during the recent U.S.-Israeli talks, Baker, U.S. secretary of state, did not pronounce a single word of condemnation in addressing Arens, Israel's foreign minister. It will be precisely the United States which will bear direct responsibility for the consequences of these very dangerous actions of Israel and the South Africa, warns, absolutely justifiably, the NBC television company.

U.S. Role in Deal Viewed

LD2710092389 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 27 Oct 89

["The Israel-South Africa Nuclear Axis—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

The world is disturbed by the United States NBC TV report that Tel-Aviv is supplying nuclear missile technology to South Africa.

There are several reasons for concern. First, the apartheid system plus weapons of mass destruction may produce a deadly fusion endangering not only South Africa, but the entire African continent.

Secondly, due to Israel's efforts the Middle East has come very close to the nuclear threshold jeopardising the vital interests of the peoples and states of that region.

Both developments are pregnant with danger for international peace and security.

And, last but not least. Israel's cooperation with South Africa runs counter to the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty. The world community cannot remain indifferent to this.

Most surprising therefore is the fact that all this is happening with U.S. connivance.

Israel is a U.S. strategic ally which gives it the same privileges as those enjoyed by NATO nations in purchasing military hardware and technologies. Moreover it can be granted access to U.S. military research and programmes.

It is an open secret that American experts have helped Israeli scientists for several years to develop operational-tactical missiles, and not without some success.

Last year Israel launched its first satellite by means of an Israeli rocket and the first Israeli intermediate-range missile was tested this year.

It is also known that Israel now possesses nuclear weapons largely thanks to the United States.

According to Pentagon estimates, Israel now has 200 nuclear warheads. To continue its nuclear missile experiments Tel Aviv needs enriched uranium and testing grounds. It will get them from South Africa in exchange for secret nuclear technology.

According to American press reports, Washington is perfectly aware of Israel's close military cooperation with South Africa, including in nuclear missile research.

Nevertheless, the U.S. Administration refuses to react, thereby conniving at this violation of the nonproliferation treaty.

The U.S. authorities fail to fulfil their voluntarily assumed commitments.

It is pertinent to recall in this context that the U.S. Secretary of States James Baker had announced in his programme speech that the new administration regarded the prevention of nuclear and missile weapons proliferation as its priority foreign policy task.

And what has it done, at least in respect to Israel and South Africa? Absolutely nothing.

In the meantime, Tel Aviv's secret cooperation with Pretoria has been going on for more than ten years.

Isn't it high time for Washington to bring its relations with Israel and South Africa into line with its own policy, let alone with corresponding international agreements.

Commentary on U.S. as 'Accomplice'

LD2810102789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Igor Surguchev commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] The United States would not give its approval to cooperation between Israel and the Republic of South Africa in developing [sozdaniye] long-range missiles if such cooperation were really being implemented. This was the reaction of White House press secretary Fitzwater to a report from the U.S. ABC television network to the effect that Israel is supplying the Republic of South Africa with the technology for manufacturing nuclear weapons, while in return the latter is providing Tel Aviv with a test site for long-range missiles and with enriched uranium for the production of nuclear warheads. With regard to this information, the U.S. State Department representative reiterated U.S. opposition to the proliferation of missiles and nuclear weapons. Here is a Mayak commentary from Igor Surguchev:

[Surguchev] I am not going to recount the report relayed by the NBC [as heard] television network. I will simply note that it is packed with specific facts and backed up by references to authoritative sources within such U.S. Government departments as the CIA and the Pentagon. As a result, there are hardly any grounds for doubting the authenticity of the reports carried by the television company. Moreover, information about Israeli-South

African cooperation in the production of nuclear weapons has been published in the West before. All the more strange then, to put it mildly, is the reaction to the NBC report from the White House and the State Department. The former casts doubt upon it, the latter totally avoids the crux of the matter. In demonstrating such extraordinary ignorance of something that is well-known to its intelligence services and defense department, the U.S. Administration is playing the role of innocent babe for its own and the world-wide public. It is, however, not clear who the simpletons are at whom this grimacing is directed. The U.S. Government is perfectly well-informed as to the nature of the nuclear cooperation between its own strategic ally in the Near East and the apartheid state and is effectively giving assent to it. This, too, was pointed out by the NBC television network when it stressed that the United States bears direct responsibility for the consequences of this most dangerous process. During the recent U.S.-Israeli talks in Washington, Secretary of State Baker made no official protest to Israel's Minister of Foreign Affairs Arens in connection with the blatant violation of international agreements on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and so far Israel, as noted by NBC, is ignoring a cautious unofficial protest from the Americans.

How does all this fit in with U.S. opposition to the proliferation of missiles and nuclear weapons, of which the State Department representative spoke? It doesn't! They say one thing and do another. In short, the United States is not complying with its obligations as a signatory to the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. It is also appropriate to raise the question of the United States' involvement in Israel's accession to the nuclear club, even though this is denied by the Americans. In any case, tolerance of the Israeli-South African nuclear partnership puts the United States in the position of, at the very least, indirect accomplice in this diabolic alliance. The threat to universal peace and security contained in this alliance once it has weapons of mass destruction in its hands is, I think, clear to each one of us.

Kozyakov on U.S. Response to Baltic Initiative

LD3110175389 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] And now a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov about Washington's reaction to the new Soviet initiative to withdraw six submarines of the Golf type from the Baltic sea.

There seems to be no argument about the Soviet action, aimed at easing military antagonism. When President Gorbachev announced the initiative in Helsinki, he called on the United States and other countries to reconsider all aspects of the plan to turn the North into a nuclear-free zone. However, the U.S. reply has been hasty and negative. A White House spokesman said the United States does not believe nuclear-free zones contribute to security in Europe and the defense secretary, Cheney, visiting West Germany, has declared that the notion on nuclear-free zones is not that significant.

In the meantime, the experience that has been gained indicates the reverse. Even 30 years ago, the USSR and the United States signed a treaty on Antarctic to proclaim the continent a zone free of nuclear weapons. This accord has been successfuly safeguarding peace and maintaining stability. (?We) may also recall the Tlatelolco treaty barring nuclear weapons from the Latin American countries that signed the treaty. The USSR, United States, and other nuclear powers are guarantors of the accord, which no doubt appears to be a stabilizing factor in international relations.

Why not create such a factor in northern Europe, too? The Soviet Union goes beyond the withdrawal of six Golf-type submarines from the Baltic Sea. NATO regards the vessels as obsolete, but the Soviet Union will scrap the submarines, along with their nuclear missiles, and what's particularly important, it is not going to replace them with new ones. Apart from this, President Gorbachev announced readiness, together with other states, to guarantee the non-nuclear status of the Baltic Sea. And this means to withdraw Soviet nuclear forces from the region in full.

Even now, not a single Soviet medium- shorter-range, or tactical missile reaches north European countries. Thus, the Soviet Union has (?opted) to increase measures to create a nuclear-free zone in the region. Why does the United States object?

The defense secretary, Cheney, argues that nuclear weapons continue to be an important part of the successful strategy of deterrence, a strategy that has worked now for over 40 years, but doesn't the new situation that has emerged in the wake of perestroyka in the USSR and Eastern Europe make the drafting of a new strategy necessary for the west?

President Bush says that the United States must go beyond the policy of deterrence toward the USSR and build its relations on the basis of (?new) proximity. And with such an aproach as we understand, every opportunity must be used to promote new relations and cooperation.

FBI Appeals to Soviet Emigres Examined

PM0111101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by N. Basmanov: "Mr Fox's 'Yardstick'"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has already reported that since the start of this month the FBI has been publishing daily appeals to former USSR citizens who have moved to the United States to "help their new country" in gathering information of interest to the U.S. special services.

Formerly they did not particularly stand on ceremony with emigres from the Soviet Union—they questioned them all one after the other according to a specially

developed questionnaire. Now they have obviously decided to put pressure on their awareness. Hence the emphatically polite tone of the daily printed suggestion to telephone and write to the FBI. Nonetheless the thrust of the matter has not altered. Those who travel to the United States to take up permanent residence are presented with a most humiliating test of reliability—in the role of informers.

In other circumstances this venture would have cost its initiators a pretty penny: THE NEW YORK TIMES, for instance, extracts thousands of dollars for reprinting paid announcements. The FBI has got its announcements cheap: The publisher of the emigre NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO, Valeriy Vaynberg, charges them just $300 for this.

Recently Dzh. [initial as transliterated] Fox, deputy director of the FBI and also chief of the FBI's New York department, has had the opportunity to reiterate the appeal to "the Russian-speaking population of the United States and emigres newly arrived from the Soviet Union" in a more extensive form and completely free of charge. In a talk with the not unknown Vladimir Kozlovskiy—NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO obligingly allocated half a page to it—Mr Fox has admitted that in the first week fewer than 20 people responded to the appeal to inform on their former fellow citizens. Let us be frank, that is not a lot. It was obviously for this reason that Mr Fox went for broke—in contravention of all diplomatic norms and simply of elementary decency he suggested to official representatives of the USSR in the United States that they betray their motherland. He has promised "thousands and thousands of dollars" to those who respond to this appeal. Can it really be that he counted on someone taking the bait?

Our fellow citizens working in the United States undoubtedly noticed the article published a month ago in the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE by David Wise on how the deserters from the USSR are living across the ocean. Wise is a very authoritative specialist on questions of the activity of the U.S. special services and the thrust of his article, offered as the issue's "highlight," was expressed in the subhead: "After the emigres have arrived in the United States and been subjected to thorough interrogation, a cold reception awaits them. One of them has become a dishwasher, another a shoeshine boy."

Note that it is not a question of some inadequates who, having betrayed the motherland, had no right to count on special esteem or at least a favorable attitude on the part of their patrons across the ocean. (What esteem could there be if, in a talk with Wise, one former employee of the U.S. special services, unlike Mr Fox, did not beat about the bush but said that in their milieu they think of the emigres like this: "Many of us regarded these people as traitors to their motherland"). A Soviet graduate student with a knowledge of three foreign languages had to wash dishes in a cheap snack bar. A shoeshine boy in a motel was the job found by... an eminent Arabist who used to hold quite high posts in Soviet institutions. Another Soviet Near East specialist was only slightly luckier. While in the diplomatic service he agreed to work for the CIA and on leaving for the West was sent to the Hollywood motel managers' school. At least he did not have to haul suitcases for guests and subsist on tips.

But even these are trivia of American life compared with what Yuriy Nosenko, who went over to the CIA's side, had to endure. For over 3 years he was worn down in a sealed windowless concrete isolation cell one meter square. To avoid going mad he made a chess set out of rags. But even that was taken away.

Of course, you can ascribe all the emigres' mishaps recounted by Wise to the CIA alone. Yet the FBI has no great sympathy either for those who agree to work for it. For instance, how did they thank John (Stayn) [surname as transliterated] for assisting in an act of provocation against the Soviet military attache in Washington? They made him an honored agent of the FBI, awarded him a diploma to hang on the wall, and then... drove him from his former job without even giving him the opportunity to look for a new one beforehand.

The subordinates of Mr Fox himself are in no way more courteous. For instance, 3 years ago they used computer specialist Leakh Bkhoge [name as transliterated], of Guyanese origin, in their latest anti-Soviet act of provocation, and what happened? They paid him the minimum rate under U.S. labor legislation and flung him to the fates. The retired provocateur now lives in a basement in a New York slum district and curses the day when he linked up with the FBI: "I served them faithfully out of patriotic convictions but when I asked for help they refused. I used to work as delivery boy but now I do not even have that work."

Nonetheless J. Fox, who has a whole army of 1,200 staffers serving under him, is continuing to appeal to our compatriots and fellow citizens, promising the FBI's favor and dollars. In measuring us by his own yardstick he is undoubtedly a typical representative of his clan. Where everything can be bought and sold.

Roundtable Analyzes Nuclear Test Problems

LD3010231189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1757 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 30 Oct (TASS)—Viktor Israelyan, representative of the UN Association in the USSR, stated here today that the hundreds of nuclear tests carried out on our planet since the end of World War II have caused such grave damage to the environment that the most resolute measures are now essential to close atomic test sites. He was taking part in a "roundtable" organized at the Soviet Peace Committee.

The discussion by participants in the "Roundtable" showed that the problem of halting nuclear tests has become unusually topical. An acute situation has arisen in the region of the test site near the Kazakh city of

Semipalatinsk. As the USSR people's deputy and writer Olzhas Suleymenov reported, the population of the oblasts adjacent to the test-site demand its immediate closure. Olzhas Suleymenov is one of the leaders of the "Semipalatinsk-Nevada" public movement; which is demanding a complete halt to nuclear tests at USSR and U.S. test sites.

As Yuriy Lebedev, a representative of the USSR Ministry of Defense, stressed during the course of discussion, the complete renunciation of nuclear tests is only possible if the U.S. side adopt an analogous decision. He reported that the majority of nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk site are conducted for the purposes of testing new types of combat equipment being made in response to the modernization of nuclear weapons being carried out in the United States.

The participants in the discussion, among whom there were diplomats, military men, ecologists and representatives of the public, expressed the conviction that the problem can only be resolved through uniting the efforts of foreign political department, parliamentarians and people's diplomacy. They proposed to USSR people's deputies that the latter appeal to members of the U.S. Congress to take joint actions to halt nuclear tests.

China

PRC Border Talks End; Rogachev Departs

LD3110122189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Beijing, 31 Oct (TASS)—The 4th round of Soviet-Chinese negotiations on border issues took place in Beijing 20-31 October. The Soviet Government delegation was led by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. The Chinese Government delegation was led by Tian Zengpei, vice minister of foreign affairs of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The sides noted the great importance of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in May 1989, both for the entire complex of relations between the Soviet Union and China and for the border negotiations.

In a businesslike atmosphere, the two sides discussed matters of drawing a borderline in a number of sectors which have not been agreed on, and achieved a certain amount of progress. They spoke in favor of continuing the discussion and resolution of matters relating to the sectors which have not been agreed on, adhering to the relevant accords reached during the meeting between the two countries' supreme leaders, and on the basis of the principles developed by the sides for resolving border issues on the Soviet-Chinese border.

The results of the work in taking aerial photographs of the Soviet-Chinese border, conducted in 1988-89, were approved.

I.A. Rogachev left Beijing today.

Soviet, Chinese UN Groups Meet in Moscow

OW2710145889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation of the United Nations Association of China began a discussion meeting with its Soviet counterpart in Moscow on 19 October. The Chinese delegation is led by Bi Jilong, president of the association. Both sides discussed support by the Soviet Union and China for the efforts of the United Nations in striving for peace, security, and international cooperation. They will also discuss the issue of expanding cooperation between the two associations.

USSR, China To Jointly Build Power Station

OW2710151489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Kazakhstan of the USSR and Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of the PRC have signed an agreement to jointly build a power station in Kazakhstan near the Chinese border. The power station will have an annual capacity of 100 million kwh and is scheduled to be completed in 1992.

PRC Military Plant Conversion Viewed

PM3110150389

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 October 1989 First Edition carries on page 4 under the headline "Relics and Innovations in Xi'an" a 1,700-word special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov report viewing the conversion of Plant 262 in Xi'an to civilian output. According to Ovchinnikov, after experiments with various products the formerly top-secret plant finally settled on the production of fire-warning systems. Ovchinnikov concludes that "it is very important for defense workers not to try to compete with those who have long produced consumer goods. They should create something new needed by the market."

Deng Outlines Stance on Cambodia

PM3110165789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting in Beijing"]

[Text] China and Thailand share identical views on the solution of the Cambodia problem. Jointly with the ASEAN countries, they are making efforts to settle this question so as to create an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state in Cambodia.

This was declared in Beijing by China's supreme leader Deng Xiaoping at a meeting with Thailand's Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan.

According to a XINHUA report, Deng Xiaoping described as essential the satisfaction of "two basic conditions" in Cambodia. The first, in his words,

"involves the complete and final withdrawal of Vietnamese troops," and the second is "the creation of a provisional quadripartite coalition government headed by Prince Sihanouk."

Having described the Thai visitor as "an old friend of China," he noted that the prime minister's second visit to the PRC testifies to the existence of "unusually friendly relations" between the two countries. They are based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, which must in all circumstances exert a decisive influence on the development of international relations.

Drug Trafficking Symposium in Beijing Viewed

OW2010072089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Unattributed station commentary from the "Commentary on Current International Events" program]

[Text] The 5-day international symposium against drug trafficking ended in Beijing on Friday. Meeting participants stressed that Asian people have become increasingly disturbed by drug trafficking, because more illegal narcotics are being produced in Asia than anywhere else in the world. As the Chinese representative said at the symposium, this bad habit has become more and more widespread in China. Our station commentator writes as follows:

A large amount of narcotics on the international black market, heroin in particular, is produced in the so-called Golden Triangle in Southeast Asia bordered by Burma, Laos, and Thailand. Opium grown there is processed in underground laboratories into heroin and other narcotics. One corner of the Golden Triangle is very close to China's Yunnan Province. This makes it possible for drug smugglers to conduct their dirty business on Chinese soil. Once drug smugglers smuggled all the narcotics from Burma and northern Thailand to Hong Kong by way of Bangkok, but they are now becoming more and more interested in China's south and southwest region. From the narcotics transfer center of Hong Kong, drug traffickers are shipping narcotics to black markets in the United States, West Europe, and Australia.

It should be pointed out that following the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, New China implemented resolute measures and almost completely eradicated the social cancer of drug abuse. However, the situation has now changed. Drug trafficking rings are trying to take advantage of the Chinese Government policy of opening to the outside. It was disclosed at the Beijing international symposium that, in the first half of this year, Chinese public security departments uncovered 187 cases of narcotics smuggling through Chinese territory, and 280 kg of opium and heroin were confiscated. The route used by drug smugglers to ship narcotics to Hong Kong passes through China's Guangdong and Yunnan Provinces. Local residents along the drug trafficking route have been found to be using drugs. Many foreign drug traffickers, including Thais and Hong Kong and Macao residents, are now in Chinese prisons. Many drug traffickers are in the business for the profits. Chinese public security departments have cooperated closely with relevant Thai authorities in cracking many drug-related cases.

At the Beijing international symposium, police officers and judicial workers from more than 30 countries and international organizations indicated that it is necessary to improve work systems and step up cooperation to fight drug trafficking. In order to stop drug trafficking, we must act in unison instead of dividing the world into two blocs. The lives of millions of people are at stake.

IZVESTIYA Reports Chinese Unemployment

PM3110134189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "China: Why Unemployment Is Growing"]

[Text] Beijing—The policy of stabilizing the economy which is being implemented in China and above all the reduction of capital construction has inevitably contributed to the fact that the problem of unemployment is issuing a serious challenge to society. That is the opinion the eminent Chinese economist Song Xiaowu voiced at the international forum of businessmen which has just ended here.

Indeed, the level of unemployment in the country is growing and will perhaps reach 4 percent at the end of this year (for comparison, in February it was only 2 percent). In the opinion of Chinese economists the situation is aggravated by the existence of at least 20 million "unemployed who are in work." State enterprises are obliged to maintain them at the demand of the government in order to "prevent unemployment in a socialist society," although it is obvious that given the acute need to increase labor productivity and reduce the prime cost of output this "invisible unemployment" is causing obvious harm.

In addition whereas formerly many "surplus hands" were swallowed up by rural industry, now the government's strict credit policy and the restricted nature of resources have also caused difficulties in this economic sphere. This year 50 percent fewer peasants than last year will join the ranks of rural workers. And this occurs in a situation where 80 million rural inhabitants are seeking work in China today.

So far, only the first steps are being taken toward easing the acuteness of the problem to some degree. In the southern province of Guangdong, for instance, a social protection fund has been created, which is accumulating 64 million yuan. Approximately one-third of registered unemployed have received grants...

Meanwhile debates are still under way among scientists: Can socialist China allow itself unemployment? Where

to seek the key to the solution of this problem? Many people agree that it will not be eradicated by administrative methods.

Young Pioneer Official on PRC Youth Relations

OW2510093089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Interview with (Nikitin), chairman of the Central Council of the All-Union Young Pioneers Organization, by unidentified station announcer; date not given—recorded in Russian fading into Mandarin translation]

[Text] [(Nikita)] I met with leaders of the Communist Youth League [CYL] and the Young Pioneers Organization of China several times during the recent youth and student festival in Pyongyang. We were gladdened immensely by the all-around normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, as a result of which relations between our youth organizations have been resumed and are being developed.

A delegation of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] concluded its visit to China on Friday. It was the first time in 30 years that Komsomol and CYL representatives discussed prospects for cooperation. I hope that concrete measures will be adopted soon to develop the relations between our Young Pioneers Organizations.

[Announcer] Both the Soviet Union and China are carrying out large-scale reforms. Such reforms naturally also involve youth organizations. How should our Young Pioneers Organizations be upgraded? Also, how should those children who have just begun to live progress vigorously with the reforms?

[(Nikitin)] This will not be a simple thing for our Young Pioneers Organizations, with their history of more than 60 years, to accomplish. Why should those who have just gotten in touch with the world carry out reforms? The answer is simple: Because Young Pioneers hope to take an active part in their society's change. Therefore, their organizations should meet the requirements of the (?present situation).

[Announcer] Would you discuss some of the relations our Young Pioneers Organizations' maintain internationally?

[(Nikitin)] Our Young Pioneers Organizations have considerably broad international relations. The Artek Young Pioneers camp has made tremendous contributions to maintaining such relations. Many foreign children have and continue to vacation at the camp, which is located on the beautiful Black Sea shore, in the summer. The Chinese language was heard at the camp again not so long ago. I hope that Chinese children will vacation at this world-famous children's camp often.

[Announcer] Please greet the Chinese Young Pioneers on the occasion of their organization's 40th anniversary.

[(Nikitin)] Dear Chinese friends, I wish you a happy festival, success in everything, and happy and healthy growth!

Moscow Radio Explains Program for Chinese Youth

OW3110032389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Oct 89

[From the "Program for Chinese Youth"]

[Text] The editors of our youth program receive a large number of letters from listeners daily. Their letters contain interesting ideas and suggestions which help make our youth program more varied and interesting. We thank our listeners for their congratulations on the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio. We thank them for their cordial concern about the work of this station.

Dear friends, compared with the radio's 60-year history, the youth program is relatively new. Moscow Radio began its program for Chinese youth in the early sixties. However, it is not accidental today for us to think of 29 October 1929, because it was the day on which the Soviet Union laid down a permanent principle for broadcasting to foreign countries. Since then, we have used easy to understand language to timely and truthfully brief foreign listeners on all aspects of life in the Soviet Union. The life of Soviet youth today is rich and colorful. In our broadcasts, we do not want to divide things simply into two categories, black and white. We want to tell our listeners about Soviet youths' varied views on reform issues and the intense debate among them.

In your letters, some of you describe our program as a bridge of friendship between Soviet and Chinese youths and speak highly of its role in promoting cooperation between the youths of our two countries. Not long ago, a delegation of the Soviet Komsomol led by Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, visited China. The visit reaffirmed the great possibility for cooperation. We may say that now, the relations between the Soviet Komsomol and the Chinese Communist Youth League have been completely normalized. Normalization has opened up a vast vista for cooperation between the two youth organizations. In our future broadcasts, we will discuss the question of how to implement the cooperation plan between the youth organizations of our two countries. We hope that our program will inform you more about the life, recreational activities, problems, plans, and fantasies of Soviet youth.

The distance is great between Moscow and Beijing and between Leningrad and Shanghai, but our two countries are neighbors sharing the longest boundary line. Since ancient time, the two peoples have shown great interest in each other. The younger generation is carrying on the tradition of friendship. The young reporters of this youth program want to contribute to friendship. We hope that this program will remain a bridge of friendship between Soviet and Chinese youths and will help promote mutual understanding between the youths of the two countries in the future.

Northeast Asia

Japan Sees No Detente in Far East

LD3010183889 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo October 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov:

A senior Japanese defence official has expressed reluctance to promote the improvement of the international situation in the Far East.

Juro Matsumoto, chief of Japan's National Defence Administration, told a group of political scientists at a seminar in the Tokyo Hotel "Capital" that he found it hard to imagine an easing of tension in the region.

Acknowledging that positive changes are taking place on the European continent, the chief of the Japanese military made it clear that he did not consider it necessary to assist processes of this kind in Asia.

"Europe and the Far East are by no means identical," he said in the speech the day after a military parade outside Tokyo marking the anniversary of the establishment of Japanese self-defence forces.

In his address to the participants of the parade, Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu stressed the need for Japan to continuously maintain its defence potential at an adequate level.

The new programme of military construction, to be implemented starting in the 1991 fiscal year, he said, involves upgrading the might of the Japanese Army.

However, the national defence administration does not intend to wait. It is asking for a 6.36 per cent increase in budget allocations for the next 12 months.

Japan's Plan To Raise Military Spending Viewed

OW3110233589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1110 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Commentary by Valentin Dvinin from "The World Today" program]

[Text] A crowd of 25,000 people watched a military parade held near Tokyo to mark the anniversary of the establishment of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces. Addressing participants in the parade, that country's prime minister, Toshiki Kaifu, who was reelected chairman of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party at that party's congress today, declared that it is necessary for Japan to maintain permanently a corresponding level of defense.

He reported that the new military construction program that will be implemented in 1991 is designed to increase Japan's military might. In a situation of detente and an easing of international tension, when our country, for example, is reducing its armed forces both in Europe and in Asia, one could ask: What has caused this? The answer to this question came literally the day after the parade, when Juro Matsumoto, director general of Japan's National Defense Agency, addressed a group of political scientists at a seminar at the Tokyo Capitol Hotel. In his speech he admitted that positive changes had taken place on the European Continent, but cautioned that he hardly imagined prospects of a detente in the Far East.

The National Defense Agency's request to increase the military budget by more than 4 trillion yen, or 6.5 percent, as early as next year is, apparently, the practical expression of this position.

Primakov Meets Japan's Former Education Minister

OW2010105089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Supreme Soviet Union Council Chairman Primakov met Japan's former Education Minister Michio Nagai, who is currently director of the International House of Japan Inc. Chairman Primakov and former Education Minister Nagai noted the important role of private level diplomacy in the promotion of Soviet-Japan relations.

Chairman Primakov, referring to Soviet-Japan relations, said that there are grounds to hope for the improvement of relations in every aspect. He also said that General Secretary Gorbachev's scheduled visit to Japan would be an especially significant event.

In reply, former Education Minister Michio Nagai stressed that perestroyka's success is directly linked to the success in solving global problems. He said that Japanese political and economic circles are watching Soviet perestroyka with great sympathy.

During the meeting, the former education minister awarded a certification of lifetime membership in the International House of Japan to Chairman Primakov.

Reformists Afanasyev, Popov Interviewed

OW2310011989 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 2250 GMT 19 Oct 89

[From the "Morning Wide" newscast; Interviews with visiting Soviet Congress of People's Deputies members Popov and Afanasyev by unidentified interviewer; interviews conducted in Russian with Japanese subtitles and translated from the Russian; date and place not given—recording begins in progress]

[Text] ... declared a power struggle in preparation for the party congress in autumn next year at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. [Video shows Gorbachev speaking to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum] The CPSU is said to be divided into three groups: the conservatives represented by Politburo member Ligachev, the reformists led by General Secretary Gorbachev, and the radical reformists headed by former

Politburo candidate member Yeltsin. [Portraits of Gorbachev, Ligachev, and Yeltsin flashed on screen] Amidst heated debates in the Supreme Soviet, the radical reformists formed a faction opposing the CPSU, a group of 390 people's deputies called the Interregional Group of People's Deputies, in July. [Video shows Yeltsin speaking at the inaugural meeting of the group on 29 July] This group demands that the CPSU abandon its leading role, among other things. [Video cuts to Popov and Afanasyev at the Symposium on Contemporary Socialism and Perestroyka in Tokyo] Economist Popov and historian Afanasyev, who are currently visiting Japan, are coleaders of the group with Yeltsin. [Video cuts to the interview of Popov by a unidentified NHK reporter; begin recording]

[Interviewer] You want to establish a faction?

[Popov] I think the fundamental task of perestroyka in the party will be linked precisely to this. The question of whether to call it a faction or not is a secondary issue. You see, as I have already told you, the system to which we are changing is one of economic pluralism. If we have pluralism in the economy, we shall also have to have it in the political system. If one party remains then it will have to be within the party itself. Otherwise, it will be impossible to solve the problems of this pluralism.

In reforming the economy, for example, we must carry out, and adopt, a decision permitting private property. But, in order to adopt such economic decisions, a person must be confident that nobody will take his land away from him, not in a year, 2 years, or 3 years. He must have proprietary rights over it. Now, only political reform can provide such guarantees.

There is a second side to the matter. Political democracy will be possible only if economically independent people emerge in the country who are in charge of themselves, their money, and their enterprises. I think, in the self-transformation of the party, this process can only be realized if there is a powerful people's movement nudging the party to change. Therefore, everything here is interrelated. I think every opportunity to change the party itself must be used to the maximum. If it turns out that these opportunities cannot be used, then other forms of social development will certainly begin to be realized. [end recording; video cuts to interview of Afanasyev]

[Begin recording] [Interviewer] How do you assess the changes occurring in the Politburo in September?

[Afanasyev] Against the background of all these changes, those which took place recently in the Politburo appear to me somehow not to have any substantial significance. I have not been particularly interested in this problem. It seems to me that, once again, representatives of the apparatus [vpolne apparatnyye lyudi] have joined it.

Perestroyka...[changes thought] one could even put it this way, that perestroyka in the form in which it began in April 1985 has already ended. We thought we could carry out a capital overhaul of the edifice we have been building for 70 years, without changing its foundation. We now see that even the foundation of this edifice must also be rebuilt, and quite substantially. In other words, the prelude to perestroyka has ended. But, I adhere to the point of view that apparently in the future the CPSU will not be the only party. There will be several political parties, including possibly a Social Democratic Party, although the path to this...[changes thought] This could be the finale, that is, several political parties in society expressing, formulating, and forming the interests and political aspirations of various social and political groups. In other words, there will be some peculiarities, but the general direction towards democratization and normalization of human life is a path I think we, too, will follow. [end recording; video cuts to a strike scene in Kuznetsk last July]

Under the aggravating economic crisis, popular movements from below, departing from the framework of the CPSU, are on the rise in the USSR. During the interviews, the two radical reformist leaders made clear a line of advancing to a multiparty system in conjunction with the popular movements, although they still deemed democratization inside the CPSU the core of their efforts at the moment. [Video shows pro-Yeltsin demonstration in Moscow last March] In view of the upcoming elections for the local soviets and the CPSU Congress in autumn next year, moves by the radical reformists, backed by popular movements, hold one of the major keys to the future of democratization in the USSR.

Two Japanese Train for Joint Space Flight

OW2110123689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Mr Toyohiro Akiyama and Ms Ryoko Kikuchi, two TBS [Tokyo Broadcasting System] television station staff members visiting Zvezdnyy Gorodok in suburban Moscow, are earnestly studying Russian now. One of them will be selected to take part in the joint Soviet-Japanese space flight in the mobile complex, the MIR. The joint flight will be carried out on a commercial basis and the Japanese side will pay $12 million. In several months, these two TBS staff members will begin studying courses such as the structure of the spaceship and the space station, the MIR; the navigation system; and astronomical physics.

Zvezdnyy Gorodok, which was built about 30 years ago, has now become an international space academy. People from 14 nations received space flight training at this academy to date.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Lukyanov Reiterates Cambodia Moratorium Offer

PM3110142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting with Parliamentarians"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] Supreme People's Assembly headed by its Vice President T. Thammavong 27 October. The delegation is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

The guests were briefed on the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the work of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissions on key draft laws relating to fundamental problems of the Soviet society's development.

T. Thammavong in turn noted the great attention with which the Lao people are following the revolutionary transformations being implemented in the USSR under CPSU leadership. He spoke about the process of renewal of the national economy management mechanisms and the democratization of Lao society's life under way in Laos and about the work of the LPDR Supreme People's Assembly.

During the meeting mutual satisfaction was expressed with the dynamic development of Soviet-Lao relations, in which the two countries' supreme representative organs of power are called upon to play an important role.

During an exchange of opinions on the current international situation a coincidence of views on all topical problems of the present time was noted with satisfaction. The desire of the USSR and LPDR parliaments for constructive collaboration in the international arena and for active efforts to strengthen peace and stability in Southeast Asia was reaffirmed. In this context it was emphasized that the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia has created favorable conditions for achieving national reconciliation and a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian problem. It is important now to prevent an escalation of military operations in Cambodia—a development which would be facilitated by a cease-fire and the discontinuation of arms deliveries from abroad. The Soviet Union is prepared, together with other states, to declare a moratorium on military aid to all the Cambodian factions and favors the continuation of the negotiation processes which has been initiated with a view to achieving a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia.

A.I. Lukyanov wished the Lao parliamentarians and the entire Lao people success in discharging the responsible tasks of the current stage in implementing the course mapped out by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party with a view to the renewal of the country's political and socioeconomic life.

The LPDR parliamentarians invited a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to visit Laos. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual understanding.

Lao Parliamentarians Visit Moscow

PM3010163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Lao Delegation Arrives"]

[Text] A Lao Supreme People's Assembly delegation, headed by its deputy chairman Thongsing Thammavong, arrived in Moscow 26 October on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the talks that day with R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, it was noted that the friendly relations between the USSR and Laos are constantly strengthening and developing. The Soviet and Lao parliamentarians exchanged experience of the work of the supreme legislative organs of power.

The delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

New Zealand Women Communists Visit 17-26 Oct

PM3110144789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for party exchanges between the CPSU and the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand a delegation of women party officials headed by M. Tucker, the party's general secretary, visited the Soviet Union from 17 through 26 October . The delegation visited Moscow and Kharkov and toured an agricultural rayon in Kharkov Oblast. The New Zealand Communists held talks at the CPSU Central Committee International Department, the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, the Kharkov Oblast party committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Children's Fund, and the editorial office of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ZHENSCHCHINA and visited processing industry enterprises and scientific and medical establishments, where they were acquainted with the progress of transformations in economic and social life in the course of perestroyka.

Near East & South Asia

Egyptian Foreign Minister Receives Tarasov

LD3110131289 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Cairo October 31 TASS—G.P. Tarasov, assistant to the Soviet foreign minister and special envoy on Middle Eastern affairs, was received on October 30 by Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. Later in the day Tarasov met U. al-Baz, first deputy foreign minister and head of the president's political office.

During the meetings the two sides focussed their attention on the state of affairs in the Middle East peace process. They also discussed promoting the process by taking into account the interests of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The usefulness of regular Soviet-Egyptian consultations and of their dialogue on the entire spectrum of Middle East problems was pointed out.

TASS Notes Recent Attacks on Kabul

LD3110130489 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Kabul October 31 TASS—Rebels again pounded Kabul with missiles on Monday injuring five residents and destroying several office and apartment houses, the BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY reported.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent another note to the U.N. observers protesting the shelling.

The rebels would not be able to carry out such barbarous acts without comprehensive aid from Pakistan, the note said.

Government forces foiled another rebel attempt to expand their blockade of Kabul by cutting the "lifeline" connecting the city with Khayratan.

Rebel undercover agents spread panic in Kabul by distributing leaflets long before the operation.

The northern group of troops led by General M. Ahaq managed to open the highway to transport convoys near Dushah north of Salang.

After fierce fighting, rebel forces were driven out of the hillside dominating the landscape along the road. The rebels suffered heavy human and material losses.

There is still a threat of rocket attacks on the highway, which is now being demined.

Earlier, rebels were soundly defeated in Tashkurghan, another strategic zone.

Local fighting was reported in Paktia, Nangarhar and Qandahar provinces, when government forces responded to rebel shelling of towns and security checkpoints. About 400 rebels were killed or wounded and large amounts of military hardware were captured or destroyed.

UN Chief on 'Unsatisfactory' Afghan Progress

PM3010144589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Dialogue Is Necessary"]

[Text] Unfortunately, the hope that 1989 would bring an end to the prolonged and tragic war in Afghanistan has failed to materialize, according to a report by UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar entitled "On the Situation in Afghanistan and its Consequences for International Peace," which was released in New York on Monday [23 October].

The documents dwells in detail on the activity of the UN good offices missions in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which are observing the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

"The need to comprehensively implement all their provisions is as great as the importance of the withdrawal of foreign troops as an aspect of the Geneva agreements," the report emphasizes. "So far, progress in their implementation has been unsatisfactory." In this context, Perez de Cuellar calls again on the parties to and guarantors of these agreements to ensure strict and conscientious fulfillment of their commitments and to honor their spirit and letter.

Despite the fact that instability still prevails in many parts of Afghanistan and military operations continue, it is possible to note with gratification the steady progress in the provision of humanitarian and economic aid to needy Afghans by the UN system, the document notes.

But the political process which could lead to a start of an inter-Afghan dialogue has yet to begin, Perez de Cuellar concludes. "The problem associated with Afghanistan can be solved only by political means. This requires consensus at both the international and the national levels—which has yet to be achieved," the report says.

Vorontsov Confers With PLO Officials 24 Oct

PM3110170789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Peace in the Near East"]

[Text] Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, met on 24 October with M. 'Abbas and M. Darwish, members of the PLO Executive Committee.

During the conversation they discussed various aspects of the Near East situation and the prospects for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The sides briefed each other on the active efforts being made by the Soviet Union and the PLO to advance multiple-option approaches toward preparing and convening an international conference on the Near East. It was noted that all interested sides must display political flexibility and realism and must seek compromise ways to untangle emerging problems on the basis of balance of interests.

Yu.M. Vorontsov emphasized the importance of preserving and strengthening the positive prerequisites for launching a peace process in the Near East with the participation of the PLO, the recognized spokesman of the Palestinian people. He expressed the Soviet side's high appraisal of the PLO's constructive line and practical steps in the cause of achieving a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and a fair solution to the Palestinian problem. The Soviet Union's and the PLO's

intention to develop close coordination and cooperation in the interests of lasting peace in the Near East was confirmed.

Both sides expressed resolute condemnation of the Israeli authorities' repressive actions on the occupied Palestinian territories, which result in loss of life among the civilian population. These unlawful actions must be halted without fail.

Consultations were held in the USSR Foreign Ministry within the framework of the Soviet-Palestinian Committee on the Near East. The Soviet side was represented by V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, and the Palestinian side by M. 'Abbas.

Syrian Chief of Staff Ends Visit

PM2710150089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] On 20 October Corps General H. al-Shihabi, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party leadership and chief of the Syrian Arab Republic Armed Forces General Staff, who was in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, left Moscow for home.

At the airport the guest and those accompanying him were seen off by Army General M.A. Moiseyev and other generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Among the sendoff party was 'I. Na'ib, Syrian ambassador to the USSR, and Divisional General A.K. al-Muhammad, military attache to the Syrian Embassy in the USSR.

Yemeni Party Delegation Visits USSR

PM3110155189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP] party workers headed by S.S. Muhammed, deputy general secretary of the YSP Central Committee and secretary of the YSP Central Committee, was in the Soviet Union 20 through 26 October in accordance with the plan for CPSU-YSP party ties.

The South Yemeni guests were received at the CPSU Central Committee International Department and the Party Building and Cadre Work Department and visited Volgograd.

During their stay in the Soviet Union the YSP party workers were familiarized with the experience of CPSU organizations' activity in conditions of perestroyka and with the life of the Soviet people.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Deputy Minister Adamishin on Role in S. Africa

MB2610173089 Johannesburg International Service in English 1515 GMT 26 Oct 89

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] The Soviet Union is prepared to play a constructive role in negotiations aimed at solving the conflict in South Africa. The Soviet Union has already helped in achieving the tripartite agreements for Angola and the independence process in Namibia. In a telephone interview with the Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Anatoliy Adamishin, in Paris, Stephen Lange in our Johannesburg studio asked about the precise role the Soviet Union would be willing to play.

[Begin recording] [Adamishin] You certainly know that the policy of new thinking, or maybe to be more precise, the policy of Gorbachev, is, among other things, solving conflicts with peaceful means, by negotiation. It is certainly valid for South Africa region, with the situation in your country. We support those in South Africa who are for peaceful dismantle of apartheid, and of resolving internal problems of your country. And if we are asked, we certainly do our best in order to facilitate the process of approaching and beginning talks.

[Lange] By facilitating, would you become actively involved in mediation?

[Adamishin] You know, first of all I think it is necessary that there is a will to negotiate on both sides. This far, as I understand the democratic process of the South Africa and first of all, the ANC [African National Congress], they are prepared to talk.

[Lange] Would the ANC go as far as implementing its intentions for a peaceful solution in South Africa? In other words, abandoning violent methods?

[Adamishin] I know that there are conditions on both sides. The Pretoria authorities ask that ANC stops what they call violence. ANC, from their part, ask—and they think it is just—that the stopping for violence would be reciprocal, because there is a state violence, so to say. But at any rate, first of all it is necessary that both sides would be ready to talk. And if there is this genuine will to talk, I think it will be possible to organize the talks in the conditions, certainly, of democratic changes inside your country.

And if, I repeat, the Soviet Union is asked to help in these negotiations, we are ready to do it, and both sides know it. But I don't think that our role is decisive, the decisive role is on those who have to reach an agreement.

[Lange] President de Klerk has said that South Africa is willing to negotiate with any party that is willing to renounce violence. Would the Soviet Union use its influence to encourage the ANC to come to the negotiating table?

[Adamishin] You know we are friends with ANC, and we think that their struggle is just, and we support their struggle. But we are far from advising them how to conduct negotiations, what conditions to put, or what conditions to take from another side. It's not our business to influence the sides, because you certainly understand that nobody can reach settlement instead of you, instead of immediately interested sides.

Our role may be only to encourage both sides to negotiate, and to create just negotiations, and to help just solution, which would be acceptable for all the population of South Africa, both black and white.

[Lange] Which other South African organizations should become involved in the negotiating process?

[Adamishin] It's your business, not mine. I think that you understand better this internal problem. You see that, first of all, we thought, it was quite necessary to reach good external conditions for solving internal conflicts in your region, and I think that the agreement on Namibia and Angola created these external conditions which now facilitate the process of internal settlement in Angola, for example, in Mozambique, and the Soviet Union is for stopping hostile activities in these countries. And these external conditions facilitate the settlement of your internal problems.

But I repeat, nobody will settle these problems instead of you. It's up to the population of South Africa to find the just solution of your own problems. And we, from our side, we certainly wish you every success in order to dismantle apartheid by pacific means. Not reforming it, but dismantling, dismantling, specifically.

[Lange] Does the Soviet Union also recognize that there are other parties in the country?

[Adamishin] We have, as you know, some contacts with the democratic forces inside your country, including religious forces. Me, for example, I had talks with Desmond Tutu when he came to Moscow for the millenium of Christianity. Recently I spoke to Dr Chikane—the persons which had talks with your president recently. And we maintain contact—not official contact, especially during the session of joint commission for South-West Africa—with Pretoria authorities. In other words, we try to have contacts with all the forces, but these contacts are directed to one aim: facilitate the negotiations, facilitate the political settlement.

[Lange] Do you also recognize the importance of other organizations such as Inkatha, Dr Buthelezi, and other moderate black leaders?

[Adamishin] You see, it's not my business to comment on your internal affairs. But I think that all those who want peaceful solution and just solution which will suit all the population of your country—black people, Indian people, white people, and so on—I think that all those (?share) their (?word) in this affair. [end recording]

Possible Mediation Role in S. Africa Seen

EA2910221789 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] A South African Government radio commentary said that the Soviet Union could have played an important role in starting talks between the South African Government and the black African opposition. In its commentary, the radio concluded that the Soviet Union was the only great power that could influence the African National Congress, the ANC.

Our commentator says the South African Government radio station correctly said the following: It seems especially relevant now to all parties to move toward direct talks, rather than proposing preconditions for talks. The radio station said the Soviet Union was [word indistinct] the ANC to participate in effort to find a political solution to the problem.

As far as conflict situations are concerned, the Soviet Union supports peaceful and fair solutions, rather than armed and destructive means. That is clear to everyone.

However, we believe it is appropriate to repeat this point: What the South African commentators want is for the Soviet Union to use its influence to persuade the ANC to start talks with the South African Government in a way which would be convenient for the South African Governement. That is nothing new.

About 6 months ago, last February, Philip Neil, the director of the Soviet Studies Institute in the South African University of Stellenbosch, writing in the FINANCIAL MAIL, stated: To resolve the deep differences between the two opposing parties, i.e. ANC and the South African Government, Third World countries believe that talks are more helpful and decisive than fighting. The UK and US conservative authorities now have a ready situation to achieve the necessary results, as far as the South African Government is concerned. As is clear from the UK and Namibian talks, the South African authorities take seriously both encouragement and criticism from external powers.

[Words indistinct] what is needed is to find a power that can bring the ANC leaders to the negotiating table. No one can do that better than Soviet diplomats, he said in conclusion.

It is not without reason that we quoted this article. Philip Neil's opinion has sparked a series of commentaries on the South African radio. Yes, the South African leaders, under pressure from the UK and the United States, are seen to be trying to solve the problem by dropping certain issues.

Today, when the Pretoria Government expressed its readiness to hold talks with the ANC, it sets out several preconditions. Nevertheless, the steps taken recently by the Pretoria authorities, for instance, the release of well-known ANC leaders, are considered sufficient by the UK and U.S. leaders, who have decided to encourage

them. The lenience of these governments over the question of sanctions against South Africa reflects their current attitude.

Now according to Philip Neil's plan, the Soviet Union should contribute its share by persuading the ANC to participate in talks in a manner that suits the South African Government.

The Pretoria authorities may think that the new political thinking policy is [word indistinct]. However, when the Soviet Government says conflicts should be resolved fairly through peaceful political means, it does not mean that one party should benefit by pressurizing the other. The conflicting parties should be enabled to reach a common agreement, according to their wishes. That is what the new political thinking is all about.

Since the ANC is an independent political organization, it has its own program, and it acts according to that program. In line with that, at the recent Commonwealth conference, the ANC representative, Ihabo Mbeki, stated that his organization would continue with the armed struggle. Our commentator concluded: Did he say that because the UK and United States oppossed strong sanctions against the racist South African regime, and because they were satisfied with the few reform steps taken by the Pretoria regime?

East Europe

SFRY's Budimir Loncar Pays Visit, Meets Leaders

Gorbachev, Loncar Meeting

PM0111104489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 1 Nov 89 p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev Receives B. Loncar"]

[Text] On 31 October M.S. Gorbachev received visiting Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar today.

Loncar briefed Gorbachev on his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The Soviet president approved of their work and emphasised that the visit of the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs showed the dynamism of Soviet- Yugoslav relations.

Gorbachev said that the two countries were living through the best years of their cooperation, a new impetus to which was given by the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration, adopted in Belgrade in March 1988, and other joint documents.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Budimir Loncar expressed their countries' interest in deepening contacts in different spheres of public and state life. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have great opportunities, especially in economic cooperation whose development is wholly in the interests of the two friendly nations. The sides also touched upon Soviet restructuring and Yugoslav reforms. Despite specific national features, the processes of economic decentralization, the liberation of producers' initiative, the expansion of citizens' participation in management and the strengthening of democratic and legal principles have much in common.

Gorbachev and Loncar also emphasized that the renovation of socialism should go hand in hand with the strengthening of peace and democracy, the two things are indissolubly linked.

The Yugoslav federal secetary said that the Soviet Union's new political thinking was meeting with a broad positive response around the world and was activley influencing the changes taking place in the world arena. The Soviet side noted Yugoslavia's major contribution to the European process and confirmed the Soviet Union's determination to deepen international cooperation with Yugoslavia and step up Soviet-Yugoslav contacts.

Taking part in the meeting, which took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere, were E.A. Shevardnadze, V.M. Falin, G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, V.P. Loginov, I. Djukic, and M. Veres.

Shevardnadze at News Conference

LD3110174389 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The current official visit of Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs Budimir Loncar to the USSR is an important milestone of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told a news conference here today.

Shevardnadze said that the first round of official talks at the ministerial level was held today.

The ministers discussed fundamental problems of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, matters of economic, scientific, technological, cultural and humanitarian cooperation.

Many aspects of European security, the activity of the Non- Aligned Movement and some problems of the world economic order were discussed during the meeting. The dialogue will continue tomorrow.

Shevardnadze said that in the afternoon Loncar conversed with Mikhail Gorbachev. This was of fundamental importance for Soviet- Yugoslav relations, Shevardnadze said.

Processes of the renewal of socialism, of socialist society were the focus of attention.

The Soviet foreign minister said that complex processes of renewal and perestroyka are under way both in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia.

Shevardnadze said that the conversation was very interesting in a conceptual respect and as regards specific problems.

The USSR foreign minister said that conversations and talks with Loncar proceed in an exceptionally comradely, friendly and businesslike atmosphere.

Loncar at Press Briefing

LD0111132689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov (TASS)—Soviet-Yugoslav relations are now experiencing their most favorable phase in the entire postwar period, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia said at a press conference here today.

Speaking about the results of his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and about his talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, Budimir Loncar noted that a detailed exchange of views on the processes taking place in both countries had taken place. Attention focused mainly on relations between the SFRY and the USSR. The sides stated that bilateral relations in all spheres are good and are in keeping with the positive trends in world development.

In the words of the federal secretary, a detailed discussion of matters of Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation took place during the visit, in particular, of the problem concerning the existing positive balance of payments in Yugoslavia's favor in bilateral trade. Both the USSR and the SFRY expressed their resolve to undertake new efforts to resolve this problem, Budimir Loncar noted.

Further, he dwelt on matters of international relations as a whole. The basic prerequisite for achieving greater trust on the planet, Budimir Loncar said, is the deideologization and the demilitarization of international relations, the recognition of the right of each country to its own position.

Budimir Loncar highly appraised the recent speech by Eduard Shevardnadze in the USSR Supreme Soviet on matters of the foreign policy of the Soviet state. This speech, he said, is of historic significance, inasmuch as it gives a self-critical and bold appraisal of the international policy of the Soviet Union.

Shevardnadze's Speech at Dinner

LD3110194689 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—"The Yugoslav foreign minister's visit to the Soviet Union and our meetings and talks are part of a broad Soviet-Yugoslav political dialogue. They illustrate its deepeness and constructiveness and reflect the dynamism of the new stage in our relations", Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said today at a dinner in honour of Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar.

"This new stage began with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia in March of 1988, which has been a major bilateral and international event."

"The Soviet Union is paying attention to Yugoslavia's views on the democratisation of political and economic relations in the world and values its support of practical Soviet steps in the international arena," Shevardnadze stressed.

Shbevardnadze congratulated Yugoslavia on the successful completion of the Belgrade conference and its election as head of the Nonaligned Movement. He said the Soviet Union is ready for dialogue and cooperation with every nonaligned country and with the entire movement toward a new and more just international order free of wars and violence, giving all nations a worthy place in the world community.

Socialist Yugoslavia's voice rings a true in European affairs with voices of other nonaligned and neutral states, Shevardnadze continued. European cooperation owes much to this group of countries, which have many times played a unique role at crucial stages.

The Balkan countries are increasingly contributing to the creation of new Europe, Shevardnadze said.

The Soviet Union is wholly committed to a fruitful dialogue in the Balkans, he said.

Europeans' creative determination has also engulfed the Mediterranean in a constructive effort with the region's nonaligned countries to set up a zone of peace and cooperation in the area, he said.

Loncar's Dinner Speech

LD3110210289 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar expressed satisfaction with the level and content of Yugoslav-Soviet relations.

He was speaking at a dinner given in his honour by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze here today.

Loncar said "Soviet-Yugoslav friendship has seen meetings and partings, but even when our relations were difficult, they retained their significance, and not only for us but also for broad international processes."

The secretary said "The high principles of the declaration adopted during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia, confirm this significance."

The declaration "is our joint address to the world which we would like to be safe, fair and prospering for everyone and for all."

Loncar expressed confidence that friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia will continue to strenghen and develop.

More on Loncar's Comments

LD3110234689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1941 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 31 Oct (TANJUG)—This evening, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs hosted a formal dinner in honor of Budimir Locar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who is on an official visit to the USSR. On the Yugoslav side, Ilija Djukic, deputy federal secretary, Ambassador Milan Veres, and other dignatories attended the dinner, and on the Soviet side, Deputy Foreign Minister Aboimov, Soviet Ambassador to Belgrade Loginov, and others. [passage omitted]

Budimir Loncar stressed that the world today is undergoing tumultuous changes, and that it is emerging from the times when the balance of fear was prevalent. The process of disarmament has begun, and "relations, free from ideologizations, are increasingly shaped by the awareness of mutual independence, and from the fact that there are inalienable rights, as well as each country having its own responsibilities."

Talking about the necessity to establish equilibrium, not just between the East and West, but also between North and the South, Loncar asked: Isn't this one of the essential presuppositions for detente, whose essence is not easing of strained relations, but affirmation of universal human values, the world imbued with new security."

Reviewing the recent nonaligned summit in Belgrade, Loncar said that the question of whether "this is a new beginning for the movement does not depend solely on Yugoslavia." We are aware that we alone cannot change the world. But the world does not depend only on these who are stronger, mightier, and more important, irrespective of their role in determining the fate of the world. The world of stability and prosperity can be built only if we join forces, which the new time demands clearly, Budimir Loncar stressed in his toast. For Yugoslav source reportage on Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar's visit to USSR, see the Yugoslavia section of the 1 November East Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Signing of Two Agreements

LD0111054589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2255 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 31 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union signed two inter-state agreements today, during the visit of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar to the Soviet Union.

The first agreement abolishes visas between the two countries. Yugoslavia is the first country outside the Eastern bloc to sign such an agreement with the Soviet Union. Yugoslav and Soviet citizens will in future be able to travel to the other country without a visa, but with a letter of invitation, presented to the border authorities.

The second agreement concerns cultural cooperation between the two countries in the next three-year period.

Wrap-up of 31 Oct Activities

LD0111095189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1902 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 31 Oct (TASS)—Talks took place today between E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, and B. Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit. Questions of socialist construction in the two countries, the state and prospects of bilateral cooperation, and key international issues were discussed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The two foreign ministers expressed satisfaction with the development of relations between the two countries in the spirit of the principles and understandings recorded in the joint documents adopted as a result of summit meetings.

It was stressed that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia in March 1988 and the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration that was signed during the visit have built confidence and improved mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the CPSU and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

They also reaffirmed the similarity of approaches to a number of major problems of socialist development and international relations and gave new impetus to the expansion of cooperation and the strengthening of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship.

Later in the day the two ministers signed a program of cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia for 1989-91 and an agreement on reciprocal travel.

E.A. Shevardnadze gave a dinner in honor of B. Loncar.

Addressing the guest, E.A. Shevardnadze said that "The Yugoslav foreign minister's visit to the Soviet Union and our meetings and talks are part of a broad Soviet-Yugoslav political dialogue. They illustrate its deepness and constructiveness and reflect the dynamism of the new stage in our relations."

"This new stage began with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia in March of 1988, which has been a major bilateral and international event."

Following the spirit and letter of the Belgrade declaration adopted then, which is backed by the long-standing experience of our ties, we thoroughly take into account

each other's special features and act as equal partners led by the community of innovative socialist aspirations and the new political thinking.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are parts of the varied world of socialism which today is engaged in processes of transformation. The reforms that are being carried out in our countries aimed at liberating the potential of socialism move, in many ways, in the same directions. Hence the urgent need for sharing experience of socialist construction and deep interest in each other's successes. Mutual acquaintence with the practice of socialist renewal and the spiritual rapprochment of our fraternal peoples, the unification of their intellectual forces in solving the social and economic problems that are topical both for Yugoslavia and the USSR meet both sides' interests.

The minister also stressed that the Soviet Union is paying attention to Yugoslavia's views on the democratization of political and economic relations in the world and values its support of practical Soviet steps in the international arena.

Today our planet lives in a different and more perfect system of coordinates when ideological polarization, political egoism and bloc-based exclusiveness are finding less and less place in relations between states while the confrontational approach is being gradually replaced by readiness for cooperation for the sake of solving acute global problems.

Shevardnadze congratulated Yugoslavia on the successful completion of the Belgrade conference and its election as head of the Nonaligned Movement. He said the Soviet Union is ready for dialogue and cooperation with every nonaligned country and with the whole movement toward a new and more just international order, free of wars and violence, giving all nations a worthy place in the world community.

Socialist Yugoslavia's voice rings true in European affairs with voices of other nonaligned and neutral states, Shevardnadze continued. European cooperation owes much to this group of countries, which have many times played a unique role at crucial stages.

The Balkan countries are increasingly contributing to the creation of new Europe, Shevardnadze said.

The Soviet Union is wholly committed to a fruitful dialogue in the Balkans, he said, and welcomes the initatives directed toward a reduction here in military activity and the establishment of good-neighborly cooperation.

We note with satisfaction that the Europeans' creative determination has also engulfed the Mediterranean in a constructive effort with the region's nonaligned countries to set up a zone of peace and cooperation in the area, he said.

In conclusion E.A.Shevardnadze expressed the hope that cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia will become still richer in content in both European and world affiars. We cherish the open and sincere nature of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and the high degree of mutual trust and understanding, and we will do all within our power to ensure that things remain like that in the future also.

The dinner took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

B.Loncar visited V.I.Lenin's mausoleum and laid a wreath there. A wreath was also laid at the tomb of the unknown soldier by the Kremlin wall.

Loncar, Shevardnadze Talks 1 Nov

LD0111115189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze have this morning resumed their talks opened in Moscow yesterday.

The second round of the talks is expected to focus on topical international questions, primarily the situation in Europe in the light of the Soviet idea for 'Helsinki Two'—continuation of the process of detente and cooperation in Europe.

The talks will also encompass East-West relations and ways to ensure future cooperation and consolidate the trends of relaxation of tensions, as well as the international economic order and narrowing of the existing gap between the world's rich and poor nations.

After his meeting with Shevardnadze Loncar will meet Soviet and foreign reporters in Moscow and make an assessment of this important Yugoslav-Soviet political dialogue.

GDR's Krenz Arrives in Moscow on Working Visit

31 Oct Arrival

LD3110191789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received this report:

Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Moscow on a working visit today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

He was met at the airport by Yakovlev, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Falin, head of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department, and other officials.

Among the welcoming party was Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR.

Gorbachev, Krenz Meeting 1 Nov

LD0111085889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0803 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)—The first meeting between Egon Krenz and Mikhail Gorbachev began in the offices of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow on Wednesday morning. The general secretaries of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and of the CPSU Central Committees met in Gorbachev's office. [passage omitted]

Before the talk began, Mikhail Gorbachev and Egon Krenz answered questions from GDR journalists. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that an intensive work program is ahead to exchange thoughts and experience during a time of great responsibilities. With the present development in the Soviet Union, the most important thing is to involve all people in the political and economic processes.

Egon Krenz added that he is convinced that during this meeting a shared language will be found. Close cooperation with the Soviet Union in all areas, which is in line with the revolutionary traditions of the German working class, is a vital issue for the GDR. We copy nothing from the experiences of the USSR, said Egon Krenz, but we decide what elements of the revolutionary restructuring are valuable for our people.

After the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev the CPSU Central Committee will be holding a banquet in honor of Egon Krenz in the Kremlin. Afterward, the new SED Central Committee general secretary will be giving an international press conference on his first meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Krenz Comments on Gorbachev Meeting

LD0111123689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1202 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Egon Krenz said at an international press conference in Moscow today after his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev that the ninth Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee session introduced a turning point with the aim of strengthening socialism on German soil, tackling innovations, and introducing necessary reforms. He reached agreement with Gorbachev that it is extremely important for the party to manage that process and include everyone in it.

With reference to the talk's atmosphere, he said the two sides had met like true friends. They discussed everything, absolutely everything, very openly and in an effort to do their utmost to ensure that relations become even closer. Friendship between the GDR and USSR must become a friendship of deeds which serves the interests of the people in both states.

More on Krenz Press Conference

LD0111141489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1222 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, described his talk with Mikhail gorbachev as excellent. At an international press conference in Moscow today, he said that full agreement had been reached on all the questions addressed. His talk with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee will contribute to the deepening of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and USSR and to cooperation between the SED and CPSU. Apart from current political issues and tasks in preparing for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 12th SED Congress, strategic questions were also discussed, particularly the peace policy and strengthening socialism in the two states.

Mikhail Gorbachev described restructuring as a "revolutionary process of continuing the ideas of the Great October" and outlined interesting experiences about perestroyka in the USSR. "They are also important for our work," Krenz said.

In response to a question from Norwegian Radio, Krenz said that many of those currently demonstrating in the streets in the GDR support the renewal of socialism. The most important thing is that demonstrations serve to make life in the GDR even more pleasant. In contrast to mass actions of this nature in the West, following which nothing whatsoever changed, the GDR party and state leadership took up every idea. Naturally, not all the ideas can be implemented immediately. A new policy must not start with promises but with deeds.

Egon Krenz said the SED leadership is presently preparing very thoroughly for the next Central Committee meeting in a few days in order to submit a program of action for future work to the Central Committee. A program of this nature is not aimed at the party alone, but at the entire people. It is important to reach everyone, win everyone's trust, and call on everyone to participate. The most important point is that the party is there for the people and not the reverse.

Referring to his first telephone conversation with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Krenz said that he was pleased that it had taken place in an open and pleasant atmosphere. It is his impression that they agreed that the existence of the two German states should be used to get along with one another. Representatives were appointed to work on all the questions to be solved between the two states in specialist discussions.

Asked by a journalist whether the Middle East issue had been raised during the meeting, Krenz replied that the talk had dealt primarily with the domestic policy situation in the two countries.

However, they agreed that all regional conflicts had to be solved by peaceful means.

DIE ZEIT (Hamburg) asked in connection with the freedom of travel now granted to GDR citizens if the wall would therefore be dismantled or made more permeable. In response, Krenz pointed out that travel between the GDR and the FRG can hardly be compared with other countries, first vis-a-vis the extent of the area involved and second regarding the specifics of the two German states. The aim of the new law is greater freedom to travel for all GDR citizens. Everyone will receive a passport and a visa to enable them to travel to any country. As for the wall, the questioner is no doubt aware why that border is as it is, and is no different. It is now important to do everything to promote meetings between people in both German states. All unrealistic demands must be set aside to that end. Real politicians should do whatever is realistically feasible.

GDR's Foreign Minister Fischer Interviewed

PM3110211589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer conducted by APN special correspondents V. Markov and V. Masterov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer: 'The Alliance With the USSR is an Affair of the Heart'"—time, place not indicated]

[Text] The leadership and the people of the GDR are looking forward with great interest to the meeting between Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR Council of State, with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, which will give powerful new impetus to the further development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. This was stated by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in an interview given to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

[Correspondents] The Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session held in Warsaw was the first forum of that organization involving the participation of the new Polish coalition government, in which Solidarity is represented by the prime minister and the majority of cabinet ministers. How, from your standpoint, did this affect the course of the session, and what do you consider its most important results?

[Fischer] There were no difficulties either when preparing for the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session or during it. The Polish foreign minister, Mr Krzysztof Skubiszewski, performed his role as the host party in a very proper and constructive way during the organization and conduct of the session. No damage to our alliance is emerging as a result of the changes in socialist countries.

I think it important that all participants in the Warsaw session expressed allied solidarity. We are adhere to a single opinion regarding the need—by means of specific disarmament moves in all spheres—to impart an irreversible nature to the process of strengthening stability and, I would say, dialogue in East-West relations. That is our line, and the peoples of Europe pin their hopes upon it. Judging by the results of the session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, which took place in Portugal at the same time as the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session in Warsaw, the Western alliance retains for the time being old conceptual standpoints in many respects.

I should also like to stress that the Warsaw Pact states categorically reject the position of restoring "Germany within the 1937 borders" as extremely dangerous. Europeans and the whole world should not remain unaware of this.

[Correspondents] Marked changes have shaped up in the GDR recently: Broad discussion is under way regarding not so much what has already been achieved as what still remains to be done in the country. What are the GDR's foreign policy priorities in these changing conditions?

[Fischer] The GDR's foreign policy priorities presuppose first and foremost further developing all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union. As was stressed at the last SED Central Committee Plenum and the GDR People's Chamber session, the alliance and friendship with the USSR are for us an affair of the heart. The Soviet Union also remains the GDR's main partner in the economy sphere: It accounts for around 39 percent of all our republic's trade. Foreign economic ties with the other socialist countries represents almost the same proportion of GDR commodity turnover. We will continue to attach paramount significance to continuing the process of disarmament, which constitutes the precondition for stability and peace in Europe.

As far as the broad discussion under way in our country is concerned, it is aimed at making socialism not only more attractive but sounder, too. And this process we have started is irreversible.

[Correspondents] What is the essence of the upcoming changes in the GDR in the procedure established for citizens making foreign trips, including those to Western countries?

[Fischer] The relevant draft law, which will lay down that every GDR citizen may of his own accord obtain a passport and make an application for a trip to any country, will be presented to the GDR Government for its examination in the next few days. This law will be submitted for nationwide discussion. How such trips can be financed has, for example, to be publicly discussed.

[Correspondents] How would you describe the state of and prospects for relations between the GDR and the FRG after their recent difficulties?

[Fischer] The conclusion drawn during a telephone conversation held between Egon Krenz and Helmut Kohl the other day was that there are extensive opportunities for developing relations between our two sovereign German states provided that their sovereignty is

observed and there is no interference in each other's affairs. I should like to say in this regard that the FRG's claims to look after the interests of GDR citizens can only obstruct the normal development of relations. On the whole, based on the joint statement adopted 2 years ago, we are ready to further develop relations between the GDR and the FRG, since these relations serve as a substantial factor for stability and security in Europe.

Call for 'Order and Purity' in SED Defended

PM3110152389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "GDR: Seeing the Mistakes That Have Been Made"]

[Text] Berlin—So-called "Sunday conversations" have begun in Berlin. On 29 October 20,000 people gathered at the Red Rathaus. They were addressed by Mayor Erhard Krack and representatives of Berlin organizations from the five parties in the GDR National Front, including Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Berlin Bezirk Committee, scientists and cultural figures, journalists, and also representatives of the prosecutor's office and the police.

The rally on the square went on for 5 hours. It is difficult to list the questions discussed. Let me mention the main ones: Will the SED continue to have the leading role in society, will the privileges for a certain group of party and state workers be retained, how will citizens' right to travel to capitalist countries be realized, and will the right to demonstrate be established? The speakers stressed repeatedly: The proclaimed turn toward democracy is impossible without a public admission of the mistakes that have been made.

The rally at the Red Rathaus was stormy, and the many thousands of people sometimes applauded the speakers and sometimes whistled deafeningly. Many of the questions concerned the investigation of the events at the beginning of the month, when the police exceeded their powers in dispersing unsanctioned demonstrations. In a speech Lieutenant General Friedhelm Rausch, chief of the Berlin police, expressed his deep regret at the incidents and apologized for them.

G. Schabowski took the floor. Yes, he said, those speakers who are calling for order and purity in the ranks of the SED are quite right. Demonstrations, he said, will become part of Berlin's political culture. The requirement to obtain permission for each demonstration is not by any means an infringement of democracy—the point is to avoid disorder.

I asked Doctor Stefan Doernberg, an eminent public figure, chairman of the GDR Committee for Security in Europe, historian, and professor, to give his evaluation of the situation in the country.

"Socialism in the GDR is going through a period where we are discovering our second wind," S. Doernberg said. "We are embarking on renewal while relying on 40 years of significant achievements and the experience of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. Basic socialist values such as social protection, collectivism, peace policy, and many other things will indubitably be preserved. At the same time, many problems have still not been solved; I would put it like this: We have not always taken the path on which socialism can best display its advantages. Socialist democracy has not been developed. But we are not starting from scratch, it is not a matter of creating a sociopolitical structure afresh. Socialism must be given a new quality, and political questions must be resolved with the participation of all parties, organizations, and social forces on an alternative basis. This will help in finding the optimum solutions. The new role of the mass media as regards analysis of the situation in the country, the quest for solutions, and the raising of new problems is directly connected with this. Previously we have not had such a tradition. In this respect the Soviet Union's experience is invaluable to us. I am profoundly convinced that socialism in the GDR is also capable of meeting people's economic needs more fully. It will certainly take time to find the optimum economic solutions. As for some 'bottlenecks,' these can be eliminated relatively quickly. These primarily include the improvement of supplies to the population, the redistribution of resources, and other things.

"We have a developed multiparty system, but it has not yet had its say. However, the success of renewal, in my view, depends on how resolutely the SED heads the current movement.

"The first steps are already being taken, and it is not just a question of the party's leading echelon: Party organizations at the local level, including shop party organizations, must play their part. The leading role of the party must not just be proclaimed, but affirmed in daily political struggle, and the authority which has been noticeably lost must be regained. Our rich working class traditions and historical experience will help us in this. We must take a critical look at history and see the mistakes and missed opportunities. And we must take everything positive from it."

GDR Amnesty Resolution, Restrictions Noted

PM3110125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Amnesty Announced"]

[Text] Berlin, 28 Oct—The GDR State Council has adopted a resolution on an amnesty for persons who prior to 27 October 1989 committed illegal actions to cross the border or left the GDR illegally. The resolution also extends to persons who committed violations of public order while participating in demonstrations.

The amnesty does not extend to persons who committed violence or called for violent actions, who threatened

people's life or health, who had weapons on them, or who undertook other dangerous actions.

The general prosecutor has been entrusted with implementing the amnesty and informing the GDR State Council of this.

Acceleration of Trade Discussed With USSR

AU3110102789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Oct 89 p 3

[ADN report: "GDR and USSR Are Striving for Top Positions"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The GDR and the USSR want to reach top international positions through joint efforts and to offer more modern and demanding goods to the population and the enterprises of the two countries. Herbert Weiz [deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology] and Nikolay Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, discussed in Moscow on Tuesday [24 October] how the necessary process of renewal of the mutual trade relations can be accelerated.

Further Reportage on Krenz Visit

For East German reportage on the visit by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, to the Soviet Union, please see the German Democratic Republic section of the 1 November East Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Belousov Meets With Bulgarian Economics Minister

PM3110170589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received on 24 October Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian People's Republic minister of economics and planning.

They examined questions of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Georgi Pankov, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Slyunkov, Bulgaria's Lukanov Discuss Cooperation

PM3110143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 28 October N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received A. Lukanov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations. Approaches to improving the mechanism of Soviet-Bulgarian economic interaction and cooperation within the CEMA framework were discussed.

G. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, was present at the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere.

West Europe

Soviet, Finnish Foreign Ministry Talks Noted

LD3110222989 Moscow TASS in English 2203 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—In the framework of Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Finland, the ministries of foreign affairs of the USSR and Finland discussed problems of chemical weapons.

The sides noted that in view of the growing intensity of negotiations on general and complete ban on chemical weapons and the possibility of concluding shortly an appropriate effectively verifiable convention, there is a need for the stepping up of the preparation of all states to take part in such a convention and for the working out of necessary technical means of verification of the observance of the convention's provisions.

The Soviet Union and Finland intend to become initial participants in the convention and will be exchanging experience in the working out of procedures and means of verification.

The Soviet Union highly appraises Finland's research into the area of verification of chemical disarmament, in the framework of which positive experience has accumulated.

Finland expressed the readiness to give an opportunity to Soviet specialists to familiarise themselves with verification methods it developed.

The Soviet Union will enable Finnish experts to familiarise themselves with verification of the destruction of chemical weapons and ensuring their non-production.

The sides will coordinate later the questions involved in the establishment of such cooperation, including financial expenditures.

In the framework of Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Finland, the Soviet and Finnish ministries of foreign affairs exchanged opinions on questions of training United Nations peace- keeping forces.

Both sides noted the enhancement of the United Nations role in the consolidation of peace and the use of the institute of military observers and U.N. forces for the purpose.

The Soviet side expressed in principle a favourable attitude to the Finnish side's proposal to share its experience in the training of units and military observers of U.N. peace-keeping forces.

It was agreed to continue the discussion of these matters. The Finnish side invited a Soviet delegation of experts to familiarise themselves with Finnish programmes of training U.N. peace-keeping forces.

Gorbachev Receives Italian Communist Official

PM0111104689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 1989 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting with A. Rubbi," on Gorbachev's 31 October meeting with Italian Communist Party leadership member A. Rubbi]

[Text] Soviet President and Communist Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev today had a brief meeting with Antonio Rubbi, member of the Italian Communist Party leadership.

During the comradely conversation, they discussed several aspects of Soviet-Italian relations in the light of Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy.

The two met during an interval in the USSR Supreme Soviet session, attended by Rubbi, who is in Moscow on a working visit.

Austrian Communist Party Officials Visit

Delegation Arrival

PM3110161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Invitation of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A Communist Party of Austria [KPOe] delegation comprising KPOe Chairman F. Muhri; W. Silbermayr, member of the KPOe Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the KPOe Central Committee; and I. Steiner, member of the KPOe Central Committee Secretariat, arrived in Moscow 30 October at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

They were met at the airport by V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee.

Meeting With Gorbachev

LD3110173189 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev today held a brief meeting with Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party, as well as with Walter Silbermayr, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party and Johann Steiner, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party.

The interlocutors expressed satisfaction with fraternal solidarity between the Soviet Communist Party and the Austrian Communist Party.

Gorbachev wished success to the 27th Congress of Austrian Communists to be held early next year.

The meeting was held during the intermission in the morning meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet at which the delegation of the leadership of the Austrian Communist Party was present.

The delegation is staying in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

USSR, France Greetings on Ties Anniversary

Gorbachev Message to Mitterrand

PM3110124189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Mikhail Gorbachev message to French President on anniversary of diplomatic relations]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Francois Mitterrand, President of the French Republic

Esteemed Mr President,

Please accept my greetings on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and France.

The decades that have elapsed since then were marked both by outstanding achievements and grim trials for the peoples of our countries. However, both the achievements and the trials only reaffirmed time and again the correctness and historical necessity of the decision made at that time.

The new level of collaboration between the USSR and France which has been achieved in recent years takes account of the imperatives of the present time and meets the criteria of European and global security. It serves the cause of peace and progress.

The proximity of our stances in the perception of the key problems of world politics and the European process and the evaluation of the importance of Soviet-French relations which has characterized our meetings makes it possible to hope that our two countries' constructive contribution to the world and European development will continue to increase.

I wish the friendly French people well-being and prosperity.

M. Gorbachev

Mitterrand Greetings to Gorbachev

PM3110124789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[French President Mitterrand message to Gorbachev on anniversary of diplomatic relations]

[Text] To Mr M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Mr Chairman,

Today our two countries are marking the 65th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. I send you my cordial congratulations on this occasion on behalf of the French people and myself personally.

Over the past 65 years our countries have traveled a long path both in conditions of peace and in wartime, when we were united by comradeship-in-arms. France and the USSR, bearing great responsibility for peace and security in Europe and throughout the planet, have acted together more than once.

The visit which you paid to Paris in July this year marks a new stage in the development of the long-standing and rich tradition of Franco-Soviet dialogue at summit level. Thanks to the signing of an unprecedented number of bilateral agreements, our cooperation has received fresh impetus.

On this jubilee I sincerely wish you, Mr Chairman, complete success in the great transformation effort launched in your country, I wish happiness and prosperity to the peoples of the USSR, and I express the hope for a further deepening of our cooperation and the building of a community of peace, freedom, prosperity, and justice.

Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic

Foreign Ministers Messages

LD2710182989 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The foreign ministers of the USSR and France exchanged greetings on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations.

The historic experience of Soviet-French cooperation confirms the paramount significance of interaction between the two countries in the interests of peace and universal security, said Eduard Shevardnadze's message.

"Constructive processes that are gaining momentum in European and international affairs are opening up new opportunities for Soviet-French steps towards strengthening and encouraging positive changes in the world," the message said.

Looking back into the past years, said Roland Dumas' message, one can duly assess "the high level of ties between our two countries in all areas."

He expressed the wish that forthcoming contacts between the ministers facilitate the consolidation of cooperation and coordination of the two countries' positions on major international issues.

Mitterrand Address in Strasbourg Praises Reforms

LD2610101289 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Paris October 26 TASS—The transformations in the Soviet Union and other East European countries are the most important event in Europe and possibly in the whole world since the Second World War, President Francois Mitterrand of France said in the European Parliament in Strasbourg on Wednesday.

Mitterrand praised reforms in the Soviet Union and other socialist states, specifically in Poland and Hungary. To the applause of those present, the speaker noted Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's outstanding historical role in this process and urged support for him.

There are still military blocs and opposing systems in Europe and the process of transition from one state to another entails considerable difficulties, Mitterrand believes.

The president called upon the EEC partners to pool efforts in assisting East European socialist countries, Poland in the first place. This statement was preceded by Paris's decision to grant Poland aid of 4 billion francs (337 million U.S. dollars) under a three-year plan.

Mitterrand suggested that a special fund to give socialist countries assistance in training specialists and a bank to finance joint ventures be set up.

He said the Soviet Union should have observer status in the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The president stressed the importance of implementing the provisions of the so-called unified European act which enshrines basic principles of socio-economic and political integration of the European Economic Community member states. He noted the significance of the European social charter, one of the basic elements of integration, and proposed annual control over its implementation.

Touching upon the Middle East situation, Mitterrand reaffirmed "the Palestinian people's right to have a home of their own" and favoured an EEC and Arab League conference in Paris before the end of the year.

He criticised repressions on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories and stressed they should end.

Mitterrand urged the EEC countries to take a more active part in the work to promote a Lebanese settlement.

Kohl Welcomes Bush-Gorbachev Meeting

LD3110231889 Moscow TASS in English 2306 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Bonn November 1 TASS—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl welcomed the forthcoming December meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Bush of the United States.

In Kohl's opinion, dialogue between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States is an important pre-condition for the success of the current talks on arms control.

This was announced in Bonn by a West German Government official spokesman.

Kohl's Stand on Border Issue Raises Questions

PM3110170989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "The Aftertaste Lingers On"]

[Text] Bonn, 27 Oct—Almost 45 years have elapsed since World War II. But the West German League of Exiles, more than an anachronism from those hard times, lives on. Over the past decades it has shown its mettle throughout the world as a sanctuary for "yesterday's men"—political intriguers who have made capital out of territorial claims on other countries.

Since most of the FRG population has long since rejected such claims, they are partially changing their vocabulary and tactics. But the essence of their views, which are far removed from reality and pose a danger to peace and mutual understanding on our planet, remains the same.

The jubilee celebration organized to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the "League of Exiles" in Bonn is an example of this. The organization's chairman, H. Czaja, a Bundestag deputy from the Christian Democratic Union, utilized the latest anniversary to the full in order to set out the ideas and demands of the league, which comprises two dozen Landsmannschaften. In his opinion, real peace will only come to the East when a treaty is concluded that takes into account the "1937 border." As for Poland, the FRG Government's urgent task should be to conclude some " 'well conceived treaties' on unresolved questions."

The crux of the meeting's jubilee program was, however, a speech by the FRG chancellor. The point is that H. Kohl is soon to pay an official visit to Poland and exceptional importance is attached to this here. Thus, in setting out for the "League of Exiles" lecture hall, the chancellor entered, as it were, a snarling beast's lair. But the "beast" proved to be tamed in Bonn's Beethovenhalle. Some passages from the speech by the head of government met with silence there. There were none of the former protests, although H. Kohl's words by no means sounded like H. Czaja's words.

The chancellor's speech by and large seemed to reflect the realistic, sensible approach which is, to all appearances, the basis of Bonn's practical policy. This is of fundamental importance.

But, all the same, why did H. Czaja make none of his former objections? Only because the chancellor described him as a "German patriot"? No, of course not. The point is rather, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU points out, that the "federal chancellor presented the legalistic positions when he indicated the reservations with regard to the eastern treaties." It is well known what these "legalistic positions" are. Some people in Bonn are still using this "gloss" to demand the 1937 borders. According to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, it is these positions that leave a "definite aftertaste."

"H. Kohl's dogged attempts to dodge acknowledging the permanence of the Oder-Neisse border," the newspaper wrote, "look quite unbecoming." That is why questions still remain. What is preventing H. Kohl from coming out into the open in the border debate? Perhaps the fact that he is looking over his shoulder at the right wing among his voters? Or perhaps it is his conservative ideas? These questions have still not been answered. Like it or not, these speeches still leave an aftertaste.

Latin America & Caribbean

Mexican President Receives Supreme Soviet Visitors

PM3110153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In Favor of Strengthening Relations"]

[Text] Mexico City, 28 Oct—Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by M.I. Snegur, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is paying an official visit to this country at the invitation of the National Congress, on Friday.

The leader of the delegation of Soviet parliamentarians gave the Mexican head of state a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

C. Salinas de Gortari said that people in Mexico are watching perestroyka in the Soviet Union carefully, seeing it as part of the process of change taking place throughout the world. Political wisdom and skill and the ability to find answers to demands brought about by the development of society are needed to effect these transformations. We believe that the changes in the USSR will lead to the strengthening of peace on the planet, which is in the interests of progress and prosperity for all the earth's peoples.

Important transformations in the political, economic, and social spheres are currently taking place in Mexico in the interests of ensuring greater justice and freedom, the president continued. They aim to strengthen our people's historical roots and cultural traditions since we are convinced that, despite all the global changes, we must remain Mexicans. That is why we attach great significance to defending our national sovereignty and ensuring greater justice.

People in our country, C. Salinas de Gortari pointed out, advocate further strengthening cordial friendly relations between Mexico and the USSR.

M.S. Gorbachev's talent and political wisdom are greatly respected in Mexico, he went on to say. We wish you successes in implementing the great changes on which harmony in international relations and the prospects of ensuring peace and prosperity for the peoples depend to a considerable extent. I ask you to give President Gorbachev my most cordial greetings and sincere wishes for success.

We are also following with interest the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet itself, the debate unfolding there, and the consequences it may have for your country's future, C. Salinas de Gortari said.

R.A. Sergeyev, USSR ambassador to Mexico, took part in the conversation.

More on De Gortari, Delegation Meeting

LD3110231389 Moscow TASS in English 2141 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Mexico City October 31 TASS—A delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet was on an official visit in Mexico from October 25 to October 31, 1989 at the invitation from Mexico's Congress.

The delegation was led by M. Snegur, vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, and included USSR People's Deputies V. Kisilev, V. Ogarok and S. Stankevich.

The Soviet parliamentarians were received by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. The head of the delegation handed over to the Mexican president a message from President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev.

The parliamentarians had meetings and conversations with chairman of the Grand Commission of the Senate Emilio M. Gonzalez Parra, with president of the Grand Commission of the (?Federal) Chamber of Deputies Guillermo Jimenes Morales, with Minister of Foreign Affairs Fernando Solana Morales, Minister of National Defence General Antonio Riviello Bazan, Mayor of Mexico City Manuel Camacho Solis, Governor of Morelos State Antonio Riva Palacio and other officials.

During the negotiations which passed in a businesslike and friendl atmosphere, the sides discussed opinions on topical international problems of mutual interest as well as on a broad range of questions related to the activity of parliaments of the two countries.

Analysing the international situation, the sides achieved the coincidence of views that it is marked by the development of positive tendencies. These tendencies create additional opportunities for the further deepening of a political dialogue and mutual understanding among countries. This creates favourable conditions for exchanges in the political, economic, social and cultural areas and joint quest for solutions to main problems of humanity.

In this context it was noted that the role of parliamentarians is increasing in the ensurance of peace, consolidation of confidence, development of equal and mutually advantageous international cooperation.

Soviet and Mexican legislators confirmed the resolve of their countries to do their utmost to promote the consolidation of non- nuclear status of Latin America on the basis of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in the south Atlantic and of nuclear-free zones in various areas.

Being representatives of countries that have an outlet to the Pacific, the parliamentarians declared in favour of the Pacific area being consistently turned into a zone of durable peace and security, in which relations of goodwill and cooperation would develop. The Mexican side noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union has signed the protocols to the Treaty of Raratonga.

The sides called for an early settlement in Afghanistan, for [words indistinct] of an international [words indistinct] east under the United Nations auspices, welcomed the consolidation of positive changes in the dialogue between Khmer sides and in the process of Namibia's decolonisation and declared in support of Namibia's decolonisation and declared in support for the right of the South African people to create a democratic non-racial state in South Africa.

They noted with satisfaction the positive development of Soviet-Mexican relations and emphasised the importance of a deepening political dialogue between the two countries [words indistinct] widening of contacts between the parliaments, governments, as well as state, public and economic institutions of the two countries.

WFTU Official Views Paraguayan Unions

PY3010225689 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Interview with Mario Navarro, secretary for Latin America in the World Federation of Trade Unions, WFTU, who attended the founding of the Paraguayan United Unions Federation, CUT, by station announcer; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Who founded the Paraguayan United Unions Federation [Central Unitaria de Trabajadores—CUT]?

[Navarro] The constituent congress of the Paraguayan CUT was held in Asuncion on 12-13 August. Almost 200 delegates representing some 70 union organizations met to achieve the workers great desire to establish this necessary instrument. The overwhelming majority of the delegates also represent the two major organizations that proposed this congress: the Workers Interunion Movement, MIT, and the Paraguayan Peasant Movement, MCP. Both of these organizations have grown out of the antidictatorial struggle. For the past few years this struggle has been carried out by workers from the cities and rural areas against one of the worst and most persistent dictatorships in Latin America.

[Announcer] Having been in Paraguay, what can you tell us about the Paraguayan workers' long struggle against that dictatorship?

[Navarro] We must remember that General Stroessner ruled Paraguay for more than 30 years. Stroessner of Paraguay and Pinochet of Chile represented the worst shame for America and the world. The fortitude of the Paraguayan labor movement is surprising. It is difficult to explain how 30 years of dictatorship have failed to weaken the indomitable spirit of the Paraguayan workers and the people in general.

We had an opportunity during this congress to talk with several delegates; they told us how they managed to maintain their spirit, how the socialist spirit and the strength of their ideas managed to cross the borders, and how Moscow Radio and its programs to Chile were also heard by these workers.

[Announcer] Have you been able to hear directly the delegates' opinions, to absorb their frame of mind and their reaction to this important congress, which founded the Paraguayan CUT?

[Navarro] We could see the maturity of the union leaders and delegates to the Paraguayan CUT a day before the congress was dedicated. In fact, the night before, the WFTU, the Permanent Congress for Latin American Workers Trade Union Unity, CPUSTAL, and the MIT organized a day of solidarity with the Paraguayan workers and people. We had an opportunity on that occasion, in front of some 350 people, to denounce the fact that the Paraguayan union movement is being continuously blackmailed by top members of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. trade unions. This report, and our call to prevent such blackmail to maintain a high level of autonomy and independence in our Latin American trade unions, have been well accepted. The same reaction occurred when we repudiated the position of the new Paraguayan Government, which has prevented union delegates from socialist countries, namely the Soviet Union and Cuba, from entering Paraguay.

At the dedication of the congress the following day, when we—along with two other international trade union representatives—addressed the delegates, we were again shown how much they appreciate our WFTU. Our call for solidarity with Panama, El Salvador, and the two successful revolutions in Latin America, Cuba and Nicaragua, were applauded for several minutes. Our suggestion that all workers unite to form a powerful organization to protect ourselves was also well received and supported. All attempts to divide the trade union movement on the basis of ideology were rejected because this division would allow bosses—who form organizations such as the SOFOFA [Industrial Development Association] and the National Agricultural Society in Chile—to exploit us.

[Announcer] Our last question to Mario Navarro was about who attended the Paraguayan CUT constituent congress and who was elected to the executive board of this important organization, which is struggling for the workers of this brotherly nation.

[Navarro] There were two lists of candidates for the CUT board. Leaders elected from the two lists make up the new board, which all sectors of the working class will be represented.

The Constitution of the Paraguayan CUT and the election of its executive board were surprisingly effective examples of the united spirit of the trade unions. The newborn Paraguayan CUT has shown its vitality after having put up with one of the bloodiest Latin American and international tyrants, who it has resisted and fought against for many years.

Supreme Soviet Session

Further on Supreme Soviet 30 Oct Session

Vlasov Address

LD3110133789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1927 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Speech by Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, at the USSR Supreme Soviet 30 October at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The situation arising in the national economy places a special responsibility upon each one of us in drawing up the 1990 state plan. Work on this has already been taking place over a long period of time and as a result of the draft as we have heard today, it has undergone certain positive changes. It has been possible to more precisely define many indicators and to remove a number of disagreements, including some concerning the economy of the Russian Federation.

It is our view that the draft plan as a whole is in line with the fundamental approaches to restructuring the economy and above all is clearly oriented toward a more active tackling of priority social tasks and will allow major structural developments to be implemented. As to whether it is fully in line with our needs... no, it probably is not. This does not in the least reduce the plan's worth however. In the Russian Federation, for instance, the portion of national income spent on consumption will increase to 80.5 percent, as compared with the 78 percent in the 5-year plan. The rate of output growth for Group B will be almost seven times the growth rate for Group A, and the proportion of capital investment for the development of the nonproduction sphere will increase from 42 to 45 percent.

In what is outlined by the plan the accelerated development of the agro-industrial complex must be especially maintained. Despite the extremely strained situation regarding material and financial resources, there are plans for further augmentation of the economic potential of the agro-industrial complex and the social reorganization of the countryside, as was very cogently stated in the report. In our republic it is planned to use over 44 percent of capital investment for social purposes, first and foremost on house and roadbuilding and for the provision of gas supplies in the countryside.

It is also important to note that there is a considerable increase in investment for the development of enterprises that process agricultural raw materials. In total, the volume of food production will grow by 9 percent.

There is one important issue I would like to mention in particular: the increase in grain production. The 1990 plan calls for an increase in gross harvests, but this is far from enough to satisfy the needs of the national economy and does not relieve the country of the need to import. Thoroughgoing measures are needed. The union government has now supported the proposal from USSR people's deputies and of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet that an all-union program be drawn up on increasing the production of grain, on its rational use, and on satisfying requirements for concentrated fodder by producing it ourselves. We believe this program should already be reflected in the 1990 plan. Drawing up the plan for increasing food resources is very tense. The same goes for other areas in the social section of the plan. In the Russian Federation, for instance, it is planned to increase consumer goods production by R29 billion, or 23 percent over this year's level. This is virtually equal to the entire growth obtained over the first 4 years of the 5-year plan period. Furthermore, the emphasis has been placed on increasing the output of goods in physical terms. Naturally such high rates lead one to ask whether the plan is realistic. In this connection I think it essential to underline that the plan design work is based on a program we devised. It is founded on concrete measures and calculations; it is particularly important that it was worked out from below, starting at the enterprises and the executive committees of the local soviets. This, as we know, is the most reliable guarantee that the plan is realistic.

Of course, the growth in production of goods that has been envisioned presupposes intense work in bringing new facilities into operation, that is our main direction; in using existing facilities; opening branches; redesignating a number of enterprises; and in the conversion of the defense industries. This concerns supporting the plan with raw-material resources. The main burden here lies upon us, ourselves. Today life itself suggests to us mutually advantageous solutions along the road of integrating the efforts of the fraternal republics in this matter, which we have already started to do with Moldavia. At the same time I would like to support the proposal of the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions concerning further work on balancing the production of consumer goods with material resources.

The draft plan sets tough targets in th area of house building and also socio-cultural construction. We have to commission 80 million sqm of housing alone, which is nearly 60 percent of the volume for the country as a whole. The growth will amount to 14 percent. This will make it possible to reach the indicators contained in the republic's "Housing 2000" program. For these figures to become a reality it is essential for us to seek out additional resources and bring reserves into use, and these we do have. It means increasing volume at the expense of the funds of the enterprises; expanding construction by the direct labor method; the development of the individual, cooperative housing construction; and of course increasing output of building materials and things needed in making houses ready.

In short, how realistic the plan is depends on our practical work and on the efficient functioning of all material production complexes. This also applies equally to the financial improvement of the economy. The

practice of the current year convinces us of this. By all accounts, through the use of internal sources, we in our republic will manage to overcome the deficit on the republican budget. In fact, this is what the new philosophy of the plan and the budget under the conditions of the radical economic reform amount to. Its very concept envisions an expansion in the independence of the enterprises and territories and a changeover from tough administrative regulation to flexible, economic management. I would put it like this: The plan today is not a supreme directive in which everything is allocated down to the last tin tack, as they say. It is a document in which the main objectives and priorities are set out and in which the most important ratios governing the development of the national economy are defined. It corresponds to this, both the plan and the budget likewise.

Of course, given the extraordinary nature of the measures mapped out in the draft the task of regulating the new economic mechanism was and remains the main one. Unfortunately there are still a lot of problems here. Instead of the desired effect negative consequences of the way in which this mechanism was not worked out and incomplete are making themselves felt increasingly painfully. There are manifestations of group egoism, violations of economic links that have come into being, and what is most important, a falling off in state and labor discipline. In industry alone one in five enterprises today fails to fulfil its obligations under agreements. Over a 10-month period the shortall in output deliveries has amounted to R4.5 billion already. Today's agreements have been concluded covering 30 percent of the volume due to be supplied to consumers next year. This is a very dangerous symptom. We understand our responsibility and make a critical assessment of the situation. We see that many of these processes today are sometimes going out of control and we need specific measures, all-around, well-considered, well thought out, prompt measures. I think the question of further work on the law on the state enterprise must also arise.

The draft plan and budget being discussed today overall corresponds to the requirements being placed upon it, comrades. It will make it possible to ensure the dynamic and all-round development of the country's national economy. In the view of the government of the Russian Federation these drafts should be approved. Obviously there must be a careful and positive attitude towards the observations contained in the conclusions of the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which are due to be implemented in the process of subsequent work.

Pavlov Address

LD3110162489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1847 GMT on 30 October, during a recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, broadcasts a 35-minute speech by USSR Finance Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov.

Pavlov begins by talking about the results of work by committees and standing commissions on the budget, proposals for raising the standard of living, and State Acceptance Service. He then deals briefly with expenditure on geological prospecting.

After speaking about collective farm markets and their financial prospects he moves on to talk about financial sources. He then continues:

"We consider it necessary to draw your attention to the fact that one of these measures is changing the level of tobacco prices. We think that the very fact that this matter is being discussed today in the Supreme Soviet might give rise to an unhealthy increased demand for tobacco products and lead to complications in the situation on the market. Therefore, we would ask deputies, when they come to take a decision on this issue to bear in mind also the time scale for introducing the rises. If you consider it necessary to approve the measure proposed then we would ask you also to specify the time scale. The government in this instance favors changes in tobacco price rises being implemented immediately. Otherwise we will run into a rerun of the soap crisis."

Pavlov goes on to discuss expenditure on medicines.

He then says that he thinks that the issue of rayon pension coefficients should be dealt with during the Supreme Soviet's examination of the Draft Law on Pensions which is due in the near future.

Pavlov goes on to say that special paid leave for looking after children until they reach the age of 18 months is to be phased in starting on 1 December this year in parts of the Far East, Siberia, and the North, as well as Vologda, Novgorod, and Pskov Oblasts with other areas joining in July next year, and still more on 1 January 1991. He says that the Council of Ministers supports deputies' proposals on the need for equality between various regions as regards this measure and "considers it expedient to introduce it in areas in Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus on 1 July 1990, as is envisaged for areas in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, and the Baltic republics instead of on 1 January 1991. That would correspond with the R300 million extra expenditure which has been requested."

He goes on to deal with the writing off of collective and state farm debt to which the government feels that a careful and realistic approach is needed. He says: "Debt should be written off where it is an obstacle to switch to lease-holding." That should not apply to farms which in theory could switch to lease-holding with a profitability of over 40 percent and other farms could have their debts rescheduled in the light of their realistic prospects.

Next, Pavlov notes that the implementation of the measures proposed in the draft budget presupposes a switch to economic methods. A great deal depends on the year's final results: "It must be said outright that the situation which has been emerging of late in the economy and finance is giving rise to increasing, to great anxiety."

He points out that in developing the drafts of next year's budget the government used as its starting point the fact that the positive changes which began to show at the start of this year would be reinforced. However, the results of the work of many industries in August and September compelled it radically to adjust that assessment. He says: "the consequences of labor conflicts and inter-ethnic quarrels took their toll not only in the industries and on the territories where they occurred. The situation throughout the national economic complex became exacerbated in the extreme."

Disproportionate increases in the population's income and the failure of many industries and regions to overcome the increasing imbalance of the consumer market have boosted inflation, he says. Enterprises which do bad work have a corresponding effect on their partners and suppliers.

Pavlov continues: "The fall in industrial production and disruptions to railway transport and many other factors have already had their negative influence on budgetary income. In the past few months almost R2.5 billion in planned payments have failed to materialize. According to our calculations the sharp reduction in September's rate of industrial production will result in a further reduction in income of no less than R300 million for 1 month alone. "Noting that a similar situation extends to virtually all forms of income, he says: "With such work indicators the loss to the national economy could be around R6 billion by the end of the year."

Pavlov continues by pointing out that the only source of budgetary income which is reliably overfulfilled is income tax from the workforce.

Generally speaking, he notes, the budget forecasts have proved to be inaccurate while there is little time left to put the situation to rights. "In this situation it is our view that emergency measures are unavoidable to halt the increase in negative trends in the economy and finance and prevent a slide into crisis." The government, Pavlov stresses, is doing everything possible to improve things. "There is no alternative," as he puts it. The Council of Ministers has already outlined several measures calculated to alleviate the problems. "We can no longer allow ourselves to spend more than we earn."

Next, Pavlov goes on to say that the income base of the state budget must be strengthened. At present one enterprise in six is in breach of the Law on State Enterprises and pays nothing to the treasury. It's not fair, Pavlov states. "Before the introduction of a new law on a unified tax system we consider it necessary to fix a compulsory minimum for payments into the budget for each enterprise."

He then dwells on the importance of curbing inflation. Pay must not be allowed to rise faster than the growth in production volume. He cites the example of the Shostka chemical factory which is planning to increase salaries faster than production next year.

Central decisions are not enough to solve the country's economic problems, he continues. All those involved in production must be involved. Wastage and unproductive expenditure must be reduced, as has been repeatedly emphasized.

Next, Pavlov tackles the problem of production costs. Increased production costs lead to higher prices and thus to more inflation. He appeals to managers to keep production costs down. Furthermore, loss-making enterprises must not be allowed to shelter behind successful ones. He says that leasehold enterprises have shown that it is possible to switch to non-loss making operation from the start of work under new conditions.

Pavlov goes on to remark that unfinished construction work is still a disease in the Soviet economy, outlining some of the measures envisaged in the budget aimed at releasing funds which are tied up in uncompleted projects. Dwelling on the problem of unassimilated resources, he says: "The economic bodies at enterprises and organizations will in the near future have to make careful and comprehensive inventories of what our national economy has at its disposal and what is not yet being used, or is being used only poorly." This is a good way of helping the economy without any additional investment being required. "The Soviets of people's deputies and the banks could play an important part here. They must act energetically with regard to all enterprises situated on their territory."

He then notes the need for perestroyka in the credit system: "Another urgent task is to strengthen the position of the central bank and activate an interest rate policy. That would make it possible to increase the effectiveness of control over the efficiency of the economy in all its forms and manifestations. Proposals are also being prepared on the organizational basis for an integral system for controlling the entire monetary turnover of the national economy." The aim, he says, "in a word to work purposefully and energetically to establish a unified financial policy in real life and in effect."

"The last point is that tension in the national economy is made worse by a sharp increase in economic infringements of the law. According to statistics from the USSR prosecutor's office they cost over R4 billion annually." A budget amendment envisages increasing funds to help combat this phenomenon.

He continues: "Comrade deputies the USSR State Budget for 1990, taking into consideration the proposed amendments, which have been agreed with the USSR Council of Ministers, is submitted for final examination and approval by the Supreme Soviet with an overall total income of R434 billion and with expenditure of R493 billion. The amount by which expenditure exceeds income has been reduced to R59.2 billion or by R800 million in comparison with the figures submitted. If you put forward amendments to the conclusions presented by the committees and commissions that will also require that the forecast figures for the state budget

which I have given will have to be further elaborated. The government for its part asks the Supreme Soviet to approve the budget in the sums indicated and the report on the fulfillment of the budget for 1988. An extensive program for organizing the fulfillment of the State Budget for 1990 will be reflected in a decision by the Council of Ministers on implementing the law of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the State budget."

Pavlov concludes his speech at that point.

Voronin Address

LD3110220689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1740 GMT on 30 October, during a recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, broadcasts a 31-minute speech by Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman. Voronin begins by noting the exceptional exactingness with which the 1990 draft plan for the country's development was examined in the Supreme Soviet committees and standing commissions. Most of the committees and commissions displayed an understanding of the possibilities open to the state in tackling matters relating to socioeconomic development, he says. Spokesmen for the government and individual ministries all took part in the discussion, and this helped impart a constructive character to all aspects of the work on the draft plan.

"By and large," says Voronin, "as Viktor Grigoryevich Kucherenko has already reported here, the commissions and committees upheld the main provisions of the draft state plan for 1990, and approved the ratios and priorities for the development of the national economy that are envisaged by it. At the same time, a number of additional steps were proposed to resolve the most acute social and production problems. The USSR Council of Ministers studied these proposals carefully, and considers that some of them ought to be passed and incorporated within the plan for 1990; a number of issues and jobs that extend beyond the requirements or remit of the plan are to be resolved urgently by the country's government and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics, the ministries and departments of the USSR; while a separate group contains those proposals and recommendations that should be implemented as the draft state plan for the 13th 5-year plan period is drawn up."

The proposals put forward by the committees and commissions, Voronin says, were basically concerned with the social sphere—consumer goods, housing, employment, education, health care, and culture. There were other proposals, though, concerned with capital construction, the agroindustrial and other complexes, and foreign economic activity.

He acknowledges the committees' and commissions' concern at the situation in the fuel, energy, chemical, timber, and machine-building complexes, and the general lag behind the current year's plan in the national economy, indicating that they recognized the necessity for an immediate radical improvement in organization, and a reinforcement of contractual, labor, and production discipline. In this speech, Voronin recounts how, at the Council of Ministers session on 20 October, the results of the economic and social development of the country was examined for the first time 9 months of this year. "It was noted he says, "that, despite certain positive progress, the situation in the economy remains extremely difficult. The situation in the consumer market is not improving. It is, above all, a consequence of the continuing growth of the allocations for labor payment incommensurate with its results and also a lag in production of items necessary for the people." According to Voronin, there is a serious lag in the construction of social amenities and in the start up of industrial facilities. The Council of Ministers drew up specific steps to deal with this. In addition, the newly adopted law on resolving labor disputes should play an important part in stabilizing the situation, he says. "All of this has meant that in October—and we hope in the fourth quarter, too—the situation has been improved, and a certain movement towards steadier work in the national economy may be discerned," Voronin states.

Voronin goes on to discuss the results of the USSR Council of Ministers examination of specific proposals and recommendations from the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions. On the social program for 1990, the USSR Government accepted a number of the committees' and commissions' suggestions on increasing the living standards of the populace in 1990, he says. He lists some of the elements which are to receive additional funding, including: increased pensions, better food, footwear, and clothing in residential schools and orphanages, and higher wages for cultural workers in the countryside. Voronin says that health care is to receive additional funding specifically for increased expenditure on food in maternity wards, children's hospital, etc. The social needs of railwaymen should be met more fully, and there is to be "an increase in the money allowances for operational officials with the Interior Affairs organs." Voronin reports that the total cost of all the additional measures will be R3.6 billion. Thus the state's expenditure on centralized steps to raise the standard of living in 1990 will be almost 40 percent more than previously planned, and will total R13.4 billion. This is a record, he says.

According to Voronin, important social problems were also examined during discussion of the draft plan. These included: an established minimum standard of living and income indexation. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, Goskomtrud, and State Planning Committee, Gosplan, have been given the job of drawing up a mechanism for indexation of incomes taking into account the movement of consumer prices. Furthermore, USSR Goskomstat is to publish the income index in 1990. Voronin says that "the USSR Government has also instructed the USSR Goskomstrud and Goskomstat, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republic to complete, in the first half of 1990,

drawing up the minimum consumer budgets as applicable to various social and demographic population groups, and to the various regions of the country. This is so that the planning bodies can make use of these budgets, the minimum levels of family incomes calculated on the basis of them, and the size of wages, pensions, grants, and other social payments and benefits when drawing up the draft plan for economic and social development in the years 1991-95."

Voronin says that the Supreme Soviet's committees and commissions have noted other social questions that must be resolved quickly, such as the use of female labor in heavy work. The Council of Ministers has instructed the USSR Goskomtrud and union republics to present, in the first quarter of 1990, a program to improve the lot of women in the USSR that would cover the entire gamut of the life of women.

According to Voronin, "the conclusions of the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions make mention of the topical need to ensure the rational employment of the country's population, taking into account the socio-economic and demographic peculiarities in the development of the union republics. This problem is of particular importance at the present time in regions of surplus labor, such as areas of the trans-Caucasus and Central Asia. With the development of market economic relations and regional financial autonomy, it is to be expected that this situation will become aggravated in other regions of the country, too. This, of course, will require the adoption of emergency measures. Unfortunately, at the present time there is, essentially, no such thing in the country as an employment service. The labor bureaus and centers that have been set up fulfil very limited functions that are connected merely with registering citizens who are seeking work, and sending them to enterprises." "With this in mind," says Voronin, "the USSR Government has instructed the USSR Goskomtrud to collaborate with the Council of Ministers of the Union republics in drawing up a state program for the employment of the population, and to provide in it for the creation of a special fund to provide professional guidance and assistance to the unemployed population, professional training, and retraining for workers who have been made unemployed, fuller involvement in public sector production of the population in regions with a surplus of labor and the further improvement of the working conditions of factory workers. The idea is to build financially autonomous centers in regions with a surplus of labor to provide further education and retraining for the population. Such centers will receive funding from the state employment fund, and as early as 1990 it is planned to create a network of such centers for the education and retraining of the population in the republics of Central Asia." Goskomstat has been given the job also of collating employment statistics on the basis of sex, age, and region, Voronin explains.

Voronin says that the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions also want a program for the development of the network of preschool establishments, and Gosplan and the union-republics' Councils of Ministers have been instructed to take this idea further. The program should take into account of national traditions in the various parts of the country, he says. Voronin reports that work is coming to an end on drawing up norms for supplying educational establishments with the necessary equipment, not least computers. The Supreme Soviet committees and commissions paid great attention to the production and supply of medicines, he says. In 1990 the output of medical equipment should total in value R1.6 billion—an increase of more than 30 percent over the 1989 plan.

Voronin says that the question of consumer goods has generated heated debate. Since light industry is short of cotton and wool, it has been decided to ask Gosplan to cut cotton exports in 1990 by 100,000 tonnes. Furthermore, an additional 20,000 tonnes of fine wool is to be imported. Because of the importance of consumer goods, the USSR Government has instructed the Councils of Ministers of the union republics to pay particular attention in the coming year to the technological refitting of enterprises in the industry, he says.

According to Voronin, the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions have come up with several new ideas on the housing question. In particular, they suggest handing over part of the state's housing assets as cooperative or private housing. Voronin says that "The USSR Council of Ministers agrees with this, but it considers that instead of preparing a proposal on this matter in the fourth quarter of 1989, it should be after the USSR Supreme Soviet passes the law on property, and also the law on the general principles for restructuring the administration of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics and the law on the general principles of local self-management and the local economy." Because of the cut in USSR Armed Forces, many servicemen must be provided with housing, and of course this is aggravating the housing situation. In 1990-91 some 65,500 families have to be housed, states Voronin.

Voronin says that the Council of Ministers has been examining the recommendations and remarks of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions on the development of certain national economic complexes. On the fuel and power complex, a USSR Council of Minister's draft instruction has been drawn up to stimulate the export of oil and gas condensate within the state order by offering five percent of the foreign currency earnings. In 1989 some 93 million tonnes of fuel are to be accumulated for use in the first quarter of 1990. This is to ensure reliable supplies, he says.

Voronin reports that "the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the fuel and power complex has been given the job of preparing a proposal by the first quarter of next year on the further development of the country's power engineering industry, taking account of the negative attitude towards the construction of atomic and hydro power stations and other heating and power engineering facilities that has arisen of late in many

regions." Given the USSR's harsh climate, such a position is of concern to the government, he says.

According to Voronin, the need is recognized to speed up the construction of a number of metallurgical enterprises. On the subject of the agroindustrial complex, efforts are being made to bolster the logistical base of the complex and boost the social development of the countryside. Supplies of agricultural machinery are to be stepped up. Production of refrigeration units for the agroindustrial complex is to be stepped up sharply, he says.

Voronin is then interrupted by Gorbachev, who tells him to finish his report. Voronin objects, saying that he was promised an hour and cannot possibly make his report in less time. Gorbachev asks Voronin how much of his speech remains, and Voronin replies that he is half way through. Gorbachev declares a 20-minute break.

After the break Gorbachev announces that the session's work will continue and hands over the floor to Voronin. He says that in order to solve the tasks of the development of the country's agro-industrial complex the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply is to provide additional material and technical resources sufficient to ensure the fulfilling of construction and installation work, worth in the region of R1.5 billion. By cutting exports, 1.5 million additional tonnes of motor oil are to be supplied to agriculture. The countryside is to receive additionally 2.4 million tonnes of cement, more than 600,000 tonnes of metal and 330,000 tonnes of steel pipes. Thousands more motor vehicles are to be supplied. The number of cars available for sale to agricultural workers is to be increased. Electricity is to be cheaper during the day for country dwellers at the expense of making it more expensive elsewhere in the national economy. The USSR Council of Ministers is considering writing off State and Collective farms' debts to the state in order to assist them in switching over to new forms of organizing agriculture.

Voronin then continues: "As regards the defense complex: The USSR Council of Minister's State Commission on Military Industrial Issues, the USSR State Planning Committee and the ministries of the defense-oriented branches of industry have been given a commission to provide for, in preparing the conversion plan, the utilization of the capacities freed to increase the output of civil production, corresponding to the profile of the special technology produced. Well, this is, first of all, civil shipbuilding, civil airplane construction, highly complex, so to speak, durable goods for the population, technical equipment for the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex and the light textile industry, ecologically clean energy installations, medicinal and other civil production."

Voronin notes that measures are being taken to raise R1.2 billion within the limits of the defense budget for improving living and social conditions for soldiers and their families.

In connection with an increased amount of cargo in 1990 measures are being taken to improve work and living conditions for railway workers, increase the railways' material and technical base and perfect the technological transport process. Additional repair materials have been assigned to the railways. Proposals have been made for increasing the fines for allowing wagons and containers to stand idle this winter for longer than is permitted.

Voronin says the Ministry of Railways has devised specific measures to return the situation on the railways to normal.

On investment, he says many commissions have paid special attention to the problem of the volume of state investment in production construction. Various ways of reducing these investments have been debated coupled with the problem of balancing the building program and reducing state investment expenditure. In the draft plan the volume of state investments in production construction has been reduced by nearly a quarter and for a number of national economy complexes this volume has been reduced to 40 percent. State centralized capital investment in capital construction financed by enterprises' own funds have been taken into account in the draft plan. The conclusion of the committees and commissions proposes reducing the said volume of capital investment by R5 billion.

Voronin says that the government has paid attention to the proposal by the Supreme Soviet commissions and committees to increase investment in developing the material base of the health service, public education, and culture. The USSR Council of Ministers has already envisaged in the draft plan for 1990 a growth in state capital investment in these spheres by R2.1 billion or 25.6

compared with the practical fulfilment of the plan for 1988, he adds.

Voronin notes that in the draft plan for 1990, state investment in developing the health service is envisaged by the Councils of Ministers of the union republics to the sum of R1.8 billion, which is over R100 million more than the plan for 1989 and over R443 million more than was effectively assimilated in 1988. The specific target of the said investments as regards specific health facilities is to be decided by the republics themselves according the real conditions and regional needs, Voronin adds.

Voronin says the USSR Government has also examined the question of allocating an additional R1.2 billion investment in advance for 1991 construction of public education facilities. Analysis shows that insufficient attention has been given to this problem. The commissioning of general education schools and children's preschool institutions in the first 9 months of this year are down on the results of the same period of 1988, he adds.

Voronin says, On the cultural sphere, the commissions propose increasing the volume of investment in the draft plan for 1990 by R113.4 million, including by R60

million for gosteleradio to buy equipment, and by R53.4 million for union republics. Examining these proposals, the Council of Ministers considers it expedient to envisage in the plan for 1990 extra investment for gosteleradio for purchasing equipment to the sume of R60 million. But the USSR Council of Ministers considers that the Councils of Ministers of union republics should themselves find possibilities for increasing investment for cultural purposes by R53 million, Voronin adds. It should be noted that in 1988 the plan for state investment in this sphere was fulfilled by only 78 percent and things are no better this year. In 1990 it is envisaged to increase the volume of building and assembly work in this sphere, as compared with the plan for 1989, by R61 million, he said.

Finally, Voronin says, the commissions posed the question of allocating a R420 million investment to the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, including a 380 million centralised investment, or contructing facilities for the microbiological industry, increasing capacities for producing medicines and medical equipment, and also for buying imported equipment for the perfumery industry. Thus, for the USSR Ministry of the Medical Industry, R970 million, which is about 50 percent more than the actual fulfilment for 1988 and preliminary estimates of the 1989 plan fulfilment.

Voronin says that the government is concerned at the continued increase in incomplete construction projects and passed a special decision on this on 30 September. As a result, profits and income will be calculated only after the completion of a project. In order to analyze the state of affairs more accurately, an inventory of building projects will be completed by 1 March 1990, he adds.

In connection with the reduction of state capital investment, permanent government leading bodies will make decisions on mothballing and temporarily halting work on projects far from being completed, Voronin says, and adds that some enterprises under construction will be altered to make progressive products, consumer goods, and building materials. "The practice of selling off and leasing various buildings, constructions, and also enterprises which are at such a stage of completion wherein the new contractor with the necessary resources considers it possible to complete it proceeding from the interests of his own industry or labor collective, will become extensive." Further investment measures are being prepared and the government will report on these later. The 1990 draft plan envisages restrictions on new construction for production at the expense of state centralized investment, he says. They will be restricted to the construction of capacities to produce footwear, to process and preserve foodstuffs, to produce construction materials, and some power projects. "However, comrades, despite restricted resources, ministries and departments continue to put pressure on the government for new construction projects, and at the level of enterprises and associations an unjustified expansion of construction work is arising by increasing the number of new construction projects," Voronin says.

Voronin moves on to the matter of foreign economic links. He says that in the light of complaints and proposals there have been changes in the plan here. "In order to increase the balance in the targets for production of consumer goods against material resources, there has been an increase of R650 million in the import of various types of raw and other materials. The export of oil products has been reduced by 3,800,000 tonnes compared with the initial drafts. The resources liberated by this have been directed primarily to provide the agricultural industrial complex with motor fuel and to other branches of the national economy. At the present time the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry is holding talks with foreign firms on the construction for use of four works to produce medicines. Because of the country's position with regard to foreign currency and the limited possibilities for capital investment, the decision on this question will be made in the draft plan for 1991 and for the 13th 5-year plan," he says.

Voronin continues by saying that much concern has been voiced about the poor ecological state in a number of regions. A number of proposals have been included in the plan to improve matters. As a result of a proposal from deputies the question of converting some defense enterprises to the production of nature protection equipment is being studied. Proposals are now being considered to impose monetary sanctions for polluting the environment, Voronin explains. In order to provide better resource back-up for the plan it has been decided to import raw and other materials for consumer goods production as well as galvanized and stainless steel. A certain amount of Soviet steel is to be sent abroad to be rolled into sheets to produce refrigerators, cars, etc. Foreign economic associations have been instructed to make advance purchases of raw materials in the 4th quarter from the quotas set up for 1990, Voronin says. Priority is to be given to supplies to the agroindustrial complex and to consumer goods and services. Material resources to a value of over R2 billion are to be made available to the population by reducing production stocks including R1 billion from the stocks of the Defense Ministry, he states.

The timely conclusion and fulfilment of contracts will become increasingly important. Enterprises will be able to market, outside the centralized plan, fuel, raw and other materials to a total value of about R100 billion, including over 4 million tonnes of rolled ferrous metal, almost 1 million tonnes of steel pipes, almost 3 million tonnes of automobile gas, 5 million tonnes of diesel fuel, almost 500,000 tonnes of coal and 6.4 million tonnes of cement, Voronin explains.

Many managers complain about poor resource provision but few are taking energetic measures to reduce waste. It is essential to increase labor discipline. Losses of man hours in the 1st half of this year increased by almost one-third compared with the same period last year; in industry alone there are over 1 million men absent every day, Voronin observes.

The USSR Congress of Peoples Deputies set the main tasks for the country's development plan and the draft plan accords with these tasks. The draft plan is realistic, mobilizing, and balanced. The plan's social orientation is indicated by the fact that the proportion of resources for use by the people and for nonproduction construction will be 86 percent of the national income compared with just over 80 percent 4 years ago. Production of group "B" will increase virtually 13 times faster than group "A." Production of goods in group "B" will increase by R19 billion while group "A" will increase by only R5.6 billion. Production of consumer goods will increase by some 20 percent; in the defense complex this increase will be almost 35 percent and in civilian machine-building 31 percent. Consumer services will increase by 11 percent; 60 percent of imports are resources to provide for people's needs. In investment policy, 29 percent of capital investment and almost half of construction and assembly work to be carried out in 1990 are aimed at housing and the social cultural sphere, Voronin continues. He then says: "Further, comrades, a sharp turning point in conversion processes which are taking place not only in the defense complex but also in the national economy as a whole, is set out in the plan. Also, of course, the fact that the reduction in budget spending on defense by R6.4 billion in comparison with 1989 which has gone toward strengthening the social sphere, says a lot. This figure of 50 percent, that is half of the products of the defense complex in 1990, represent civilian production and is evidence of the changes occurring.

"I cannot help but say at least some words about the state order directed toward the further introduction into the production and the social sphere of the achievements of scientific and technical progress behind which both quality of production and economy of resources and the resolution of complex social problems stand. The use of scientific and technological achievements in the national economy will permit economies in labor to be guaranteed in the industrial branches of the production sphere of more than 20.5 million people and the release for more intellectual work of more than 1 million people employed in heavy physical work. This will allow an economy to be attained from a reduction in cost of production in industry alone to the tune of R6.5 billion.

"Comrades, I have thought carefully about these several generalized appraisals of the various trends in the state plan. All the other sections which are interconnected in a very complex manner are directed first and foremost toward stabilizing the economy, its balanced development and its social reorientation.

"In conclusion I would also like to dwell on the practicability of the attainment of the plan indicators set for 1990. If the plan itself is spoken about, then it must be noted that it was better-founded than ever before, and this was to no small degree aided by the careful study by the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet of all the aspects of the economic and social development of the country during the upcoming year. Second [as heard], the plan is better balanced by virtue of the fact that the state's resources are concentrated on the resolution of the primary, genuinely key sectors of the economy and the social sphere. Third, the possibilities of our national economy are significantly expanding with a number of major productive capacities being brought into operation.

"On the other hand, with the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of a number of very important laws, the necessary conditions are being formed for the future deepening of economic reform, the real development of the initiatives of labor collectives, the regulation of the stable work of transport, the strengthening of discipline and order in all other sections of the national economy and the security and consolidation of all participants in the production process. There is more and more foundation for the USSR Government to ask the USSR Supreme Soviet, taking into account what has been set out, to adopt the draft of the state plan for 1990. After the adoption of the plan, the USSR government will energetically take its task to the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics and the ministries and departments of the USSR, which in its turn will permit the ratification of regional plans and also of the plans of enterprises and associations in accordance with the functioning legislation. I thank you for your attention."

Vilkas Address

LD3110150189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1721 GMT on 30 October, during the recorded relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet, broadcasts a 19-minute speech by Eduardas Yono Vilkas, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Issues of Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics.

Vilkas begins his speech by outlining the general scope of the draft plan for the USSR economic and social development for 1990 and underscores its new features. The number of fixed indexes is reduced and Union republics are given more freedom to plan the production of consumer goods, retail goods turnover, and other fields. Compared to 1989, the commissioning of housing will be increased by 11 percent and the production of consumer goods by over 20 percent. At the same time, it is seldom that the targets that are set are provided with the required backup. The lack of proper resources to ensure stable work in transport and municipal services causes special concern, he points out. The right given to union republics to determine independently the most effective solutions for social issues has not been supported in practice because the distribution of material and financial resources is still the responsibility of union bodies, Vilkas explains.

Vilkas goes on to say that from the statements of the union republics councils of ministers the draft plans for 1990 do not take into account the special way in which

limits for capital investments in the social sphere are determined. He refers to particular cases in Moscow, Leningrad, and Armenia.

"The progress in fulfilling the plan in the first 9 months of this year increases one's doubts about the soundness of the preliminary outlines of the plan. In particular, in the majority of republics there was a reduction in the growth rate of industrial production. The plans to supply republican meat products to the all-union fund are not being fulfilled. The ratio of fulfilling the annual plan for housing commissioning is: in Estonia, only 27 percent; in Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, 28 percent; and in all the republics the plan for the construction of schools and other sociocultural projects has been disrupted. This is the result of poor supplies of material-technical resources."

He then talks about the treaties signed between the USSR Government and the governments of the union republics. The commissions believe that it is possible to recommend that the USSR Supreme Soviet approve the state plan for 1990, provided finishing touches are made to it based on proposals which have been put forward.

"The drafts of the union republics state budgets for 1990 constitute R229 billion for incomes and R240 billion for expenditures in relation to the state budget draft. If you take expenditures against income, an excess of nearly R11 billion. With a reduction in expenditures against the USSR state budget for 1990 the budgets of the union republics as a whole will increase by R2 billion, or 0.9 percent."

Vilkas notes that an increase in expenditures in the union republic budgets should occur as a result of a considerable increase in expenditures in financing sociocultural measures. "The revenues of the union republic budgets will increase by over R11.9 billion. The ratio of union republic budgets revenues and the joint revenues of the USSR state budget, however, are reduced from 66.5 percent to 56.2 percent."

Vilkas recalls that, as has already been mentioned, the discussion of the state budget highlighted differences between all-Union and republican bodies. He says that he won't go into detail about these now but notes that they have been submitted to the government.

"The commission established considerable differences between the positions of the USSR Ministry of Finance and the Baltic Republics on the content of the budget of the republics when they switch to economic independence. The quota for deductions from the republican budget must be defined more precisely, taking into consideration the opinion of the republics."

He says that the commission notes that the draft plan and budget were compiled on the basis of the old method. "In these conditions the aspirations of the Ministry of Finance to seek new approaches to resolving financial problems could not be fully realized." Vilkas observes that the budget mechanism needs to be radically reviewed.

In conclusion he says: "The commission views the draft state budget presented for 1990 as a budget for the transition period which allows for certain corrections during its implementation. And the commission recommends that the state budget be adopted basically, along with the review of the 1988 state budget, taking into consideration the remarks and proposals."

Moscow TV Carries 31 Oct Supreme Soviet Session

1600 GMT

LD3110173789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 31 October broadcasts a recorded relay of the 31 October Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. Gorbachev opens the session, announcing that deputies must register themselves for the debate on the plan and the budget.

At 1602 GMT, Nazarbayev, chairman of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, takes the floor. Planning leaves much to be desired, he says. Union agencies exercise too much control over regional investments. The root of much that is wrong is to be found in the complacency of the recent past. The budget deficit is going down; the plan must be balanced. As far as housing is concerned, we will have commissioned as much during the current 5-year plan as we have done during the past six 5-year plans. People consume more milk, meat, etc. They purchase more and more consumer goods. Ethnic and labor conflicts that flare up here and there make things more complicated. The unloading of goods for the people is proceeding badly, and rail car shortages continue. Over the past 10 months, Kazakhstan has failed to dispatch R140 million worth of goods. People have had enough of all this. Nazarbayev favors adoption of the draft plan and budget, and the draft law on ownership. At 1614 GMT, Yemelyanov, head of the faculty at Moscow's Lomonosov University, speaks in support of the plan and budget, though he notes that fine tuning is needed. As far as the agro-industrial complex is concerned, an obsolete approach still is making itself felt here. Therefore, the plan target figures can appear too ambitious. Therefore, plans should be amended to reflect the state of affairs in a more realistic manner. Yemelyanov says that more resources are needed, while at the same time structural policies must be changed. More rational money management and import-export policies are what is needed. Collective and state farms owe R140 billion; most of this debt ought to be written off, but there is a reluctance to see this done.

At 1626 GMT, Borovkov speaks in support of the draft plan and budget. Special clothes and footwear must be produced in greater quantities. At present 40 million working people—36 percent of the total number of people employed—do not enjoy the right to special or

protective clothing. The Council of Ministers ought to be in charge of preparing special state orders to have protective clothing produced in the requisite quantities. More resources ought to be made available for this.

At 1631 GMT, Karimov, first secretary of Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, takes the floor. He is against the cotton monoculture, which he says must be ended forthwith. Karimov praises those who gathered in the recent cotton harvest. He notes that population growth in Uzbekistan is about 3.5 times higher than the union average. Twenty million people now live in the republic, and 650,000 to 700,000 are born there every year, therefore, we must insure that people have jobs to go to. Karimov favors the setting-up of small-scale production facilities. Welfare provisions for families with many children must be improved and more facilities for children must be built. As for housing, more than 60 percent of housing is privately built in the republic, but the supply of building materials is a problem.

1642 GMT

LD3110184789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1642 GMT on 31 October continues its recorded relay of the 31 October Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin, with Deputy Korneva complaining about the inadequate production of consumer goods. Factory conditions also are inadequate, she says, going on to criticize the purchase of raw materials with hard currency.

At 1650 GMT, Deputy Bresis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers says that the socialist principle—to each according to his labor—ought to be implemented. Most of the increase in the budget revenue—55 percent of it—is taken away from the republic for the all-union needs. The republic contributes R1.5 billion to the all-union budget. Bresis would like to insure that the entire increased budget revenue stays within the republic. Plan tasks currently are some 40 percent underfulfilled, the primary reason being poor supplies from central agencies. This can be settled by means of concluding agreements between the relevant parties.

At 1700 GMT, the relay is suspended briefly, resuming at 1713 GMT with Academician Velikhov saying that the plan stimulates exports in an insufficient way. In particular, the material base of aircraft construction must be expanded, even though it costs $6 million to build a plane in the USSR, while the price is $30 million on the world market. In order to insure that defense facilities produce consumer goods, conversation must be as efficient as when, in the olden days, aviation enterprises were converted to produce missiles, which was carried out very efficiently. Velikov goes on to discuss gold and uranium mining, saying that increaes in this area are desirable, but capital investment is required. There are many needs, such as providing computers, and modernizing electric power generation. We must save power everywhere. We can build steam-aided gas turbine-propelled power generating stations. Our own microelectronics industry also must be developed.

At 1728 GMT, Deputy Rakhimov takes the floor. He praises the 1990 draft plan and budget. A price system, subsidies, and taxes all are levers at the state's disposal for taking charge of the market and the processes taking place therein. A wholesaling system must be set up in the country. Labor discipline must be restored and strikes must be stopped. Rallying also must be halted. Our leadership must make use of the laws at its disposal to do this.

At 1734 GMT, Leningrads Matviyenko, chairwoman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Women, and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection, calls for the consolidation of forces to get out of the crisis. More attention must be paid to mothers and children. Our child mortality rate is "several times higher" than that of developed countries. The draft plan and budget must give more to mothers and children; no less than 40 percent of capital investments must be redirected for these needs because the current figure is between 18 and 19 percent. There is also a shortage of foods for infants; requirements for these are only satisfied to the tune of between 10 and 55 percent. The subsidies on offer do nothing to stimulate production, maybe they could be given to poor families instead. There are millions of women living on their own, making ends meet on meager pensions; they are the victims of Stalinism, too. Our present system of benefits must be brought up to date.

At 1747 GMT, Deputy Aytmatov says that a student grant in the United States is almost as much as professorial salary in the USSR. Why is it that a Soviet family decided to emigrate to the United States? He calls into question the levelling philosophy present in the USSR and speaks in favorable terms of a family's decision to emigrate, not least to save their son from military service. The speaker bewails the brain drain, saying the best people are leaving. Better planning is needed. Cultural workers should have higher wages. Regional television broadcasting should be developed.

At 1801 GMT, Arutyunyan Elmir Tatulovich, from Armenia, says more is needed to rebuild housing in earth quake-affected areas, some 700,000 people are still homeless and winter is just around the corner. Additional capital investment should be made availabe so that rebuilding work can be completed within 2 years. Strict labor discipline is essential.

1801 GMT

LD3110195389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1801 GMT on 31 October continues its recorded relay of the 31 October Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin. Gorbachev says some people want to have debates curtailed a bit because of the lack of time. Other

comrades come up and ask: If we cannot speak today, can we speak tomorrow? There are 129 people on the list of those who wish to speak.

At 1810 GMT, Deputy Bushuyev from Novosibirsk, takes the floor. The 1990 plan should form the basis of the plan for the next 5-year plan. The planned increase in electric power generation for the countryside is a mere 5 percent; this is insufficient. We must build more electric power transmission lines. We build 150,000 km a year; we should be building 700,000 km. Resources available to the gas industry remain frozen. The 1990 planned capacity increases for heat and power stations amount to only 5 million kilowatts; we used to commission 8 million kilowatts per year.

At 1820 GMT, Deputy Tsybukh, first secretary of the Ukrainian All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee, takes the floor. He says that young people must be helped to play their part in perestroyka. The credit system must be improved. We have R314 billion on deposit; could we not bring this money into play? New jobs should be created to make sure young people are not left jobless.

At 1829 GMT, Salukvadze, director of the Sukhumi physics institute, praises the submitted drafts. Due to curtailment of grape and tea growing, the loss to the republican treasury will be R1.5 billion over 1986-89. Union bodies must give more help to resolve various problems. We must have a program for reconstruction of roads and motor vehicle transportation. He comments on the miners' strike.

At 1842 GMT, Konarev, USSR minister of railways, describes the measures taken to alleviate the situation resulting from the difficulties on the Azerbaijan-Armenia border. He then moves on to the national rail network, saying that discipline is needed among the workforce. The transportation system is essential to the smooth running of the national economy, and Konarev urges transportation employees to work hard. He goes on to say that rational planning is needed so as to make the best possible use of the available talent. The railways require help from the central authorities. Reconstruction work is needed so as to ease communication, both national and international. He calls on the government to implement the modernization program.

At 1842 GMT, Deputy Kebich, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, says that the new planning principles do not guarantee the stable, balanced development of the national economy as a whole. He bewails the fact that Belorussia, to give an example, has fewer refrigerators per 100 of population than in the union as whole. The republic's production of meat and milk will be curtailed due to ecological problems. Much work will have to be done to resettle people from the zones affected by the Chernobyl disaster.

At 1900 GMT, General Shabanov, USSR deputy minister of defense, takes the floor. Expenditure on defense has been cut by 8.3 percent relative to 1989. This became possible thanks to our new political thinking, a better international situation, and our new approach to the issues of defense, but we cannot do more than that at the moment and we cannot afford to spend less on research in a situation in which the West is trying to gain an advantage through better technology. (Here video shows Yazov and Akhromeyev in the audience.) Forces wishing to discredit the Army and Navy have emerged in the country and the prestige of the Armed Forces has fallen. Some even have speculated on whether the Armed Forces would be capable of staging a coup! Officers' pay is too low. For instance, a combat pilot gets R240-R250; a bus driver gets twice as much. Officers have huge amount of duties to fulfill, too. We would like to ask the Supreme Soviet to insure that this is put to rights.

1910 GMT

LD3110211589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1910 GMT on 31 October continues its recorded relay of the 31 October Supreme Soviet Session at the Kremlin. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod party commitee, takes the floor, noting that food, housing, and consumer goods are problem areas. People expect specific and vigorous action now, not slogans or promises. Our economy has the requisite potential, but unused reserves must be brought into play. Planning is uneven, resulting in increases in meat production in one oblast being smaller than in another which enjoys the same conditions and has approximtely the same area, population, and resources. Strikes are counterproductive; discipline must be improved.

At 1920 GMT, Yanayev, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, begins his speech. An unprecedently high sum of R10 billion is being set aside for centralized measures aimed at improving the people's standard of life. However, inflation is 8 percent and harsh controls must be established to check price rises. Real incomes must be real indeed. He quotes an OGONEK article which says that R31 million of cooperatives' income was spent on bribing the necessary officials. If that is so, the militia ought to get to the bottom of it. He supports Matviyenko's concern with regard to the poor situation in children's foods. He regrets the slow pace of commissioning of social facilities, such as housing, calls for special measures in this field, and backs the plan and budget.

At 1930 GMT, Gorbachev raises a procedural point, asking whether discussion should be continued after the interval. Shcherbak expresses his view from the floor, followed by several others with their opinions on how to proceed. Gorbachev takes a vote on whether to end the debate: 189 for, 207 against, 4 abstentions. Gorbachev obtains agreement to limit subsequent speeches to 5 minutes and announces an interval.

At 1938 GMT, the relay continues with the resumption of the session. Gorbachev registers attendance, 415 are present.

At 1941 GMT, he offers the floor to Belyayev, who expresses the views of the Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture, and Upbringing. He calls for a special session devoted to educational issues and cites instances illustrating the plight of Soviet schools. He calls for hard currency to be spent on computers for schools and urges an increase in student grants.

At 1949 GMT, Salykov, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, expresses his committee's view, regretting the inadequate provisions for nature protection in parallel with industrial investment, enumerating several ecological hotspots and calling for a unified state program to solve them, and lamenting the lack of major changes in rational use of resources.

At 1955 GMT, the floor is given to Moldavian first secretary Grossu, who regrets budget deficits and their effect on the national economy, but rejects calls for a reduction in industrial investment. He urges an increase in goods output to mop up excess money in circulation.

At 1959 GMT, the floor is taken by Deputy Trefilov, who expresses his opinions on the best way to develop the power engineering sector, citing comparative figures in favor of concentrating on gas production to make up for the shortfall in nuclear production.

At 2004 GMT, deputy Mutalibov, chairman of Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, takes the floor. He runs through various economic ills, including unemployment, and calls for postponement of the next Congress of People's Deputies.

The next speaker, at 2008 GMT, is Deputy Kuzovlev, chairman of a Krasnodar kray collective farm, who ruminates on the importance of bread for the country, regrets that much of it has to be bought with hard currency, and calls for farms to be better equipped.

At 2015 GMT, the floor is taken by Deputy Bronstein, from Tartu University, who expresses fears that the new plan and budget will not be met because of inflation and the social demands raised in strikes. The government should be given 15 months to get things right. He lists the measures he would use to tackle the problems.

2021 GMT

LD1111000189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2021 GMT on 31 October continues its recorded relay of the 31 October Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin.

The floor is taken by Tajik First Secretary Makhkamov, who lists various economic problems and urges sanctions against those who do not meet their contractual obligations. He also deals with a local difficulty concerning hill-farmers in his republic, and other issues bearing on Tajikistan.

At 2027 GMT, Deputy Baleshev, from Ashkhabad, expresses his low opinion of contractual discipline in industry and regrets a number of other economic shortcomings; making proposals of his own to tackle them.

At 2034 GMT, the floor is given to Deputy Yetlend, from Chukotka, who makes a plea for more attention to be paid to the problems facing northern regions, referring especially to pensioners living there.

At 2039 GMT, Gorbachev asks whether the debate should be concluded or continued. The deputies agree to conclude and Gorbachev offers the floor to Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Voronin reads out questions concerning capital investment in projects following the Chernobyl disaster, diesel fuel, provision for residents of Sakhalin oblast, pensions for northerners, provision for demobilized soldiers, teachers' salaries, capital investment in social facilities in Karelia, development of the gas industry, electricity prices for rural areas, the development of trade in rural regions, the use of state orders in the construction industry, pay increases for the administrative apparatus while the rest of the country tightens its belt, capital investment in education, school furniture, countering monopolism, road transportation developments, chances to question ministers at the Supreme Soviet, local soviet budgets, provision for krays and oblasts, inventories for enterprises, falling foreign economic revenue, the recently introduced wage limits, and house construction. He gives brief, general answers to each question and urges adoption of the plan and budget.

At 2100 GMT, the floor is given to USSR Finance Minister Pavlov, who reads out and answers a number of questions he has received from deputies, dealing with them in brief, general terms he rejects deputy Bresis' proposal to let each republic retain a proportion of its profit. Pavlov goes on to question dealing with prices of tobacco, beer, caviar, and other commodities. He promises efforts to maximize budget revenue and expresses hope that the deficit will be overcome.

At 2116 GMT, Deputy Ryzhov asks Pavlov about the financing of public organizations and wage comparability for health and education workers.

At 2118 GMT, the floor is given to Kucherenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union's Commission for Planning, Budget, Finance, who takes his turn at reading out and replying briefly to several questions he has received from deputies.

At 2124 GMT, Gorbachev asks whether it is time to go over to adoption of decisions on the plan and budget. After the registration of deputies, a vote is taken on whether to accept the draft decision on the state plan for 1990 as a basis; 398 for, 13 against, 11 abstentions. The draft is declared adopted.

At 2127 GMT, Kucherenko reads out a number of proposals received for inclusion in the draft, referring to specific articles. Several deputies express their views on

the proposals, to which Kucherenko gives brief answers. Gorbachev makes a few procedural points to summarize the issues raised. The Kucherenko amendment was agreed on with the government; a second amendment was made by agrarian workers.

At 2148 GMT, vote is taken on the Kucherenko amendment: 216 for, 169 against, 25 abstentions.

At 2150 GMT, another deputy makes a proposal of his own from the floor, others follow suit.

2154 GMT

LD0111011489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2154 GMT on 31 October continues its recorded relay of the 31 October Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin, with Gorbachev calling for a vote on the agrarian deputies' amendment on using up to 10 percent of funds allocated to industrial enterprises for the development of the agro-industrial complex. The vote is taken: 212 for, 161 against, 30 abstentions. The amendment needed 213 to be passed, so only the first amendment goes through.

At 2159 GMT, a vote taken on adopting the draft plan with the changes incorporated in the amendment: 355 for, 36 against, 19 abstentions. The decision is declared adopted. Gorbachev goes on to a vote to adopt the draft budget as a basis: 374 for, 17 against, 18 abstentions.

At 2202 GMT, Kucherenko reads out another proposal and calls for votes on a decision on prices for tobacco, beer, and other commodities, rises which he says are necessary to finance the increases in spending envisaged in the budget, and on other decisions. He says four votes need to be taken.

Beginning at 2208 GMT, various deputies raise points from the floor on the proposed price increases.

At 2231 GMT, Gorbachev proposes bringing the exchange of views to a close and sums up the points expressed.

At 2235 GMT, Ryzhkov takes the floor to express his view, explaining that the price rises are a proposal from the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions. On the specific propsals, he sums up deliberations conducted in government. He expresses his personal view, formed during this session in consultation with other ministers, that prices for mass-consumption goods should not be increased, but others should be increased.

At 2241 GMT, more deputies express views from the floor, with interventions from Kucherenko.

At 2245 GMT, Gorbachev proposes that the discussion be concluded and suggests separate votes on each proposed increase. The vote on the proposal to raise prices for tobacco products: 54 for, 337 against, 10 abstentions. On the proposal to raise beer prices: 44 for, 338 against, 16 abstentions. Vote on proposal to raise prices for luxury foods: 58 for, 333 against, 13 abstentions. All three parts declared rejected. Gorbachev recalls that Ryzhkov proposed that the government be instructed to find other ways of covering the expenditure proposed in the budget.

Various deputies then express views from the floor on ways of financing the proposed government spending, with attempts by Gorbachev to summarize their points.

At 2255 GMT, Ryzhkov speaks from the floor, suggesting that price increases are the government's prerogative, reminds deputies that some price rises cannot be avoided.

At 2257 GMT, Kucherenko and Gorbachev exchange views on procedural points. Gorbachev recalls that there is a proposal from Ryzhkov to instruct the government to find sources of financing government spending. He takes a vote on that proposal: 349 for, 13 against, 30 abstentions. The proposal is declared adopted.

At 2301 GMT, Academician Abalkin speaks from the floor, urging a separate vote on the budget deficit.

At 2303 GMT, Gorbachev asks for a vote on the instruction to be issued to the government as formulated by Kucherenko: 48 for, 262 against, 62 abstentions. Kucherenko then reads out a second proposal on increasing the amount of budget revenue from the sale of improved goods, and Ryzhkov makes a brief intervention from the floor. Biryukova speaks from the floor on the proportion of development funds devoted to re-equipping enterprises and other purposes.

At 2308 GMT, other deputies offer views from the floor.

At 2310 GMT, Gorbachev asks for a vote to be taken on accepting amendments formulated by the government: 354 for, 9 against, 28 abstentions. The second amendment is adopted as drafted by the government. Kucherenko suggests that he will not insist on his amendment, but a vote is still necessary, as the amendment was proposed by all committees. A vote is called for on cutting allocations for news agencies and other media; 181 for, 181 against, 34 abstentions. Gorbachev announces voting by chambers: Soviet of Union had 101 for, 136 needed, Soviet of nationalities had 80 for, 136 also needed. Therefore, there was no majority in either chamber and the amendment was rejected.

2315 GMT

LD0111020689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2315 GMT on 31 October continues its recorded relay of the 31 October Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin.

Kucherenko reads out another proposal: to exempt organizations attached to creative unions from income tax. A

deputy proposes from the floor that charitable organizations should also be exempted. Other deputies make points from the floor.

At 2320 GMT Finance Minister Pavlov intervenes from the floor to make some points on taxation on profits and to sum up the current state of affairs regarding tax rates and existing exemptions.

At 2324 GMT A supporter of the exemption of charitable organizations speaks from the floor; other deputies voiced their views on the two proposed exemptions. Gorbachev asks whether a 15-minute break should be taken before the voting. Deputies decide to continue.

At 2331 GMT Ryzhkov proposes from the floor that the issue be deleted from discussion and the amendment rejected. Gorbachev tries to ascertain who made the proposal. The committees and commissions made it; therefore, there must be a vote. Gorbachev asks deputies to vote on the amendment on tax exemptions: 37 for, 330 against, 18 abstentions; thus rejected.

At 2334 GMT Gorbachev suggests passing on to a vote on the draft law, including the accepted amendments.

At 2335 GMT Abalkin proposes an interval; Pavlov makes a brief intervention. Pavlov comes to the rostrum and reads out the proposed law on the state budget, with the figures for 1989. Revenue: R429,914,184,000; expenditure: R489,914,184,000; deficit: R60 billion. Gorbachev calls for a vote on Article 1, as read out by Pavlov: 366 for, 10 against, 15 abstentions. Vote also taken by chambers: both accept.

At 2341 GMT Pavlov reads out article 2, with the figures revenue: R95,143,095,000::expenditure: R244,242,976,000; deficit: R49,099,881,000; projected for 1990. He also reads out a list of eventualities covered by "sundry expenditure".

At 2345 GMT Gorbachev takes a vote on Article 2, as read out by Pavlov: 368 for, 10 against, 13 abstentions. Article adopted by each chamber, too. Gorbachev proposes that the law on the state budget with the adopted amendments be voted on as a whole: 355 for, 18 against, 19 abstentions. Law on state budget for 1990 declared adopted.

At 2349 GMT Pavlov starts to read out a Supreme Soviet decision on the implementation of the state budget for 1989, before a deputy asks a question. Gorbachev calls for a vote on the draft decision: 357 for, 6 against, 25 abstentions.

At 2352 GMT Gorbachev makes closing remarks following the vote.

At 2357 GMT Gorbachev invites an unidentified official to make a few announcements; then declares the session closed.

At 2400 GMT the recorded relay concludes.

Further on Supreme Soviet Session 31 Oct

Morning Session

LD3110123889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 31 October broadcasts a report by correspondent Marina Novitskaya on that morning's debates at the USSR Supreme Soviet. The report begins by noting that deputies are debating the draft state plan and budget for next year. All of the deputies speaking, Novitskaya says, think the plan and budget with their amendments should be passed, but they have certain remarks to make. Aleksey Mikhaylovich Yemelyanov says it is not enough just to allocate more resources to the agrarian sector. "In the past 5-year periods," he notes, "no small resources have been allocated to the so-called agrarian sector, but the trouble is that these resources did not go to the peasants nor to the countryside, they fell into the hands of the administrative-bureaucratic departments." He mentions the importance of keeping agricultural produce—no less than one-third of it is wasted. Yemalyanov goes on: "We need to radically change the export/import policy on food. I am profoundly convinced that, apart from certain items, we could give up or at least sharply reduce imports of food. For we lose more of what we grow ourselves than we buy. And then the second question, which was raised before at the congress by our deputies: How is it we can find so much petroleum products and fuel to export in a huge river abroad—this year we are increasing purchases of grain and are finding the fuel—but at home the combines are idle and so much grain and bread are being lost?"

Deputy Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee speaks of the need to tighten discipline: "The interethnic labor conflicts arising here and there, sometimes taking on hideous forms, the purely selfish ultimatums complicate the already grave situation in the economy and put the brake on restructuring processes. We are speaking of cases of blatant sabotage which are certainly well-founded. Otherwise, how can you explain that in an organized state, with a people indignant at the shortages of goods, in seaports and border train stations, the unloading of imported goods for the population is being frankly sabotaged to the value of tens of billions of rubles? But we have not yet heard of a single detected and punished organizer of these essentially antipeople acts, and do not know who is behind them."

"Owing to lack of freight cars," he goes on, "in 9 months R140 million worth of output failed to be unloaded for Kazakhstan. This is our total shortfall of deliveries under contract. Otherwise Kazakhstan would have fulfilled its contracts by 100 percent. I do not know how the Urals metallurgists live, not having received in that time 1 million tons of Sokolovka-Sarbay ore concentrates. I do not know how the power stations manage, not having received from Kazakhstan 6 million tons of coal and 1 million tons of petroleum products." Nazarbayev points

out that we do not know why the railways are not working: No one has been punished; there is no responsiblity. "Permissiveness and an overall reduction in discipline and elementary responsibility are leading to antisocial negatives becoming the norm, growing in scope, destablizing the political situation in the country and may cause quite unpredicatable results. I tell you plainly, the people are fed up with all this. They are looking with hope to the Supreme Soviet and expect it, as a real authority, together with the government, to take the situation in hand at last. And these hopes should be justified," he says.

Nazarbayev concludes by saying the plan and budget should be ratified and opposes long debates which will waste time needed to think deeply about ideology and specific content of the 13th 5-year plan and economic reforms.

Afternoon Session

LD3110164789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 31 October broadcasts a 21-minute report by correspondent Marina Novitskaya on the afternoon session at the USSR Supreme Soviet. Novitskaya begins by outlining the work done by committees and commissions to prepare the draft plan and budget which are being debated today, and the changes made to them along the way. She notes that deputies are concerned about how the plan and budget will be compatible with the transition of republics to financial autonomy.

The state order now covers 600 items, while all the rest will have to be obtained on a contractual basis, Novitskaya says. Deputy Krebich, deputy chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers, spoke about this problem at today's session, Novitskaya says, introducing a recorded excerpt of Krebich's speech:

[Krebich] "The new principles for planning the material and technical supply, with priority being given to increasing the proportion of direct ties, have substantially changed the concept of balance for the plan at the level of central planning bodies. If one speaks of priorities, they do not guarantee proportional development of the national economy as a whole. The principle of satisfying the needs of the so-called nonpriority areas by transferring to direct ties is causing us great concern under the present conditions. The experience of this year has shown the full danger of such an approach. The uncontrollable nature of this process and the existing and expanding diktat of the suppliers in the context of the monopolization of production have revealed a number of negative phenomena in the process of supplying the national economy.

"The unjustified price rises for products supplied on direct contracts—in some cases by several dozen percent—cannot be called anything but industrial speculation, because the manufacturers obtain the raw materials and energy resources which are used for this at state prices. The situation cannot be allowed where products of which there is an acute shortage are deliberately transferred to direct ties, without an in-depth analysis of the grounds and possibility for controlling this process adequately. This policy, which one can call a policy of hiding one's head in the sand, conceals on the one hand and aggravates on the other the imbalance of the national economic plan."

Krebich then goes on to suggest that "the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and its territorial services must become a direct organizer and partner for a set period of time, and those goods that are in the shortest supply must be included in the state order.

"For this reason, in order for the 1990 plan to have a stable material and technical supply, it is necessary to ensure that there is control over the process of transition to direct economic ties, to set maximum levels of prices for the products supplied via such ties, with the increase being no more than 10-15 percent above the wholesale price level; and also to introduce a system of economic interest for enterprises in developing the output of products which are in short supply.

"At the same time, there should be a sharp rise in economic accountability for failure to fulfill delivery obligations. Suppliers must not have an opportunity to easily make up for fines for disrupting deliveries or avoiding the conclusion of contracts due to unjustifiably high prices. Failure to carry out deliveries must inevitably lead to a sharp deterioration in enterprises' financial position, and to the threat of bankruptcy. This is all the more true since supply discipline is getting worse every day."

The correspondent then introduces a recording of Chingiz Aytmatov, who spoke at today's session. He is chairman of the commission on Issues of the Development of culture, Language, National and Internationalist Traditions, and Preservation of Historical Inheritance.

Aytmatov says: "As always, the attitude to cultural issues acts as the touchstone against which the government's intentions and its orientation toward man and his spiritual renewal are tested; the need for this renewal seems to be recognized by everyone. With regard to culture we can particularly sense the ambiguity and half-measures which are a feature of many of our departments and decisions."

Aytmatov goes on to point out that his commission tried to keep its own additional requests for changes to the plan to a minimum, bearing in mind the grave economic situation. The two major problems that were concentrated on as a result, he says, were those of an urgent solution to the issue of cultural and educational workres' pay, and second, the development of television. People working in clubs, libraries and museums do not earn much more than pensioners.

The deputy then goes on to deal with the funds allocated to television and the media. Stressing the importance of

television as "a most important guarantee of television". Aytmatov notes that while his commission on the development of culture "reached complete mutual understanding" with the Budget and Planning Commission, the draft budget proposes to deprive all creative unions and public organizations of their tax subsidy, and to cut allocations to television, TASS, and the NOVOSTI agency by 10 percent, or R200 million. "If this budget is the mirror of our life, we seem to be living in the kingdom of distorted mirrors," he says. "On the one hand, the draft on taxation proposes to free from taxation the income of enterprises devoted to developing culture and the arts, while on the other hand it is proposed to start taxing the income of creative union's enterprise, all profit from which goes toward the development of culture." This will lead to the elimination of all creative unions, he adds.

The proposal for cutting allocations to television are much the same, Aytmatov continues. His commission worked on the issues of developing the network of new television centers; it reproached the defense industry for not making an effort to use the conversion process for reequipping the television industry, and it called for the commercialization of television. "In response to all these comprehensive measures, the draft joint conclusions propose to intensify the commercialization of television and the volume of advertisements, and to cut state allocations by R200 million. Furthermore, these proposals have far-reaching sociopolitical consequences, irrespective of their authors' intentions. We do not now have the kind of goods, the commercial competition, for hundreds of millions to be made from advertisements." So, Aytmatov goes on, television can either cut down on program quality, thus harming glasnost, or it can abandon the development of local broadcasting, which is important for activating sociopolitical life and for interethnic harmony.

Only 1.2 percent of the budget goes toward culture and the arts, he says, compared with 1.6 percent in the GDR and more than 2 percent in the CSSR. Aytmatov asks whether the deputies are prepared to let a saving of relatively modest sums ruin the country's cultural value and spiritual prospects. "Weigh it up, consider it: too much is at stake. What is involved is no longer money but essentially whether we foster the culture of our fatherland; will we make our contribution to the development of world culture?" he asks.

Novitskaya notes that although it is not customary to applaud in the Supreme Soviet sessions, the audience did so after Aytmatov's speech.

During the interval, Novitskaya interviewed Deputy Dyakov, first secretary of Astrakhan party obkom. He says he is concerned that the plan should be balanced and fulfilled.

The correspondent then interview Deputy Gritsenko, chairman of the Commission on Issues of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, on the draft law on pension provisions in the USSR which should be discussed at Thursday's Supreme Soviet session if the plan and budget are adopted on schedule tomorrow. Gritsenko points out that the pension law will provide a basic standard of living for all. Wage levels will determine the size of pensions, with workers selecting any 5 years from a 15-year working life.

Gorbachev Remarks

LD3110221189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] At the plenary session of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin today, discussion continued of the draft plan and budget for next year.

[Commentator Dmitriy Kiselev] [Passage omitted] In the evening there were stormy debates over the proposed amendments to next year's budget. The objective was to seek additional funds. I recall how several years ago our press spoke with irony about the beer debates in the Althingi, the Icelandic parliament. But today there were beer debates with us, too. [Begin video recording] [Gorbachev] I put to the vote Part Two: Who is in favor of raising the price of beer? [Murmuring in the hall] For an increase? Please vote. Who's in favor? [Camera pans around hall] Who's against? [Video shows electronic voting panel with the result: 44 in favor, 338 against, 6 abstentions]

[Kiselev] The proposal to increase the price of beer, tobacco, and delicacies failed. The proposal to reduce the budgets of TASS, APN, and Gosteleradio—and I say this with relief—failed, too: 181 for, 181 against; there was no majority.

And we have just received a report that the plan and budget have been adopted, but we just have time to show you how this happened. [Video shows voting panel: 357 in favor, 6 against, 25 abstentions]

[Gorbachev] Who has abstained? [Video shows Gorbachev looking at voting panel] The question is resolved, comrades. So, the state plan for socioeconomic development for 1990 and the law on the 1990 budget, and its execution has been examined, and adopted. first of all I would like to point out that this has been difficult, very important and responsible work. I don't know—many matters still lie in wait for us, and also many important decisions, but the adoption—the working out, preparation, discussion, and adoption—of the plan and budget for 1990 as it were anticipates many of our deeds in the 13th 5-year plan and for the future. Because we are now creating reserves as regards our economy's orientation, and the transition to new forms and mechanisms. I would say that much will depend on how we now tackle issues, how the processes in our economy develop, and this will also determine the situation in society as a whole.

For my part I would like to note the active, fruitful, and—I would say—very responsible work of the Supreme Soviet members, and not only the Supreme Soviet members, but also the people's deputies who comprise the commissions and committees at this crucial stage. This is very important. That's the first thing.

The second thing is: It seems to me that, as a result of this work, mutual understanding has deepened between our legislative body and the government, the government bodies. This is also a very important thing which, I think, we should not ignore because cooperation on a fundamental basis between the legislative body—the Supreme Soviet—and the executive body, which is what our Soviet Government is, is a very important element and factor which will ensure—and must ensure in the final analysis—our reaching the decisions which society is expecting, and which conform with realities and with the objectives we set ourselves.

Third: I think that the deputies correctly—and at the stage of the debate, the working out of the documents, today, both yesterday and today in the debates on these most important issues—emphasized the fact that it is now clear to us all, as never before, that at this stage constructive organizational and practical work in implementing what we have adopted today will be of decisive importance.

I share all of the deputies' anxieties which have been voiced here. For a long time these anxieties have been heard in government reports. We realize that we have adopted a very difficult and intensive plan and budget. And these do not satisfy us, but we have been compelled to dwell on this because this stems from realities.

We have made a big step toward improving—by the adoption of these documents—the economy and finances, but these are just laws, these are just decisions. In order that they can be implemented I believe we must work as we have never worked before, comrades. Perhaps only in war years and the immediate postwar years. We ourselves must realize this, and we must carry this idea through to our working people. And I believe that they have caught this mood, and these anxieties, of both the Supreme Soviet and the government, listening to the debates over these 2 days.

There is a great deal of work ahead. I hope that these documents which we have adopted will help all our people to better understand those tasks which we have set for this extremely important year at this stage of our society's development. [end recording]

Shabanov Address

LD3110215989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Speech by USSR Deputy Defense Minister Shabanov to the 31 October Supreme Soviet Session held in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. There is no doubt that it is in difficult financial and economic conditions that our new government compiled the draft plan and the draft budget for the year 1990. My view is that the government has attained its main aim: To give them a social thrust. Of course, this did not come easy. There were compromises; there were also very many risky proposals. However, I think that it is worth it, as it were. There is no doubt that the relevant extraordinary measures Lev Alekseyevich spoke about were also necessary. This includes the measure to reduce—and to reduce substantially, by 8.3 percent, relative to 1989—the expenditure on defense. I would state outright that, in essence, a reduction like that is taking place for the first time in our country—and not just in our country alone—by 8.3 percent!

After all, I think that there have always been many disputes in many states regarding the size of the cutbacks. I think that this reduction has become possible as a result of our new political thinking, as a result of the international situation having become healtheir, and as a result of our new approach to the problems of the defense of the state. We have examined this issue very carefully at all levels, beginning with the Defense Council and at the Defense Ministry. There have been long discussions at the Committee for Defense and State Security, involving the Planning Commission and the Budget and Finances Commission. We all came to the conclusion that this reduction represents a very important measure—but a maximum possible one: It is impossible to move further.

I should state that a reduction of defense expenditure is attained not only through curtailing the volume of allocations set aside for buying arms and for military construction, but also, unfortunately, through halting or rescheduling a number of scientific-research and experimental-design projects undertaken with defense interests in mind.

In conditions in which the West is striving to attain arms superiority through its technological achievements, a reduction in research and development spending is very undesirable; there is no doubt about that.

In this context it became necessary to revise the priorities of research and development work underway, so as to focus efforts upon the work which is instrumental in determining the quality of the armed forces and its arms.

Unfortunately, comrades, the situation is aggravated by the fact that the cost of work has increased. There are quite a few examples when research and development costs have increased by 1.5 times, and even 3 times, relative to the original scheduled deadlines. There are several reasons here. They are imperfect norms used to determine the costs of scientific and design production in the conditions of financial autonomy; an increase in the cost of materials used in the projects; and, if one is to speak frankly, the instances of group egoism in our scientific organizations.

Unfortunately it is a fact, and the Defense Ministry is persistently waging a campaign against these phenomena. My view, however, is that under the Council of Ministers' guidance, we should as painstakingly as possible look into the costs of research, development, and design work, and not just in the military sphere.

From my viewpoint, quite a few loopholes have appeared here for one to get money one has not earned.

Comrade deputies, every country inevitably has to have Armed Forces. They should be surrounded by the concern and attention of the state and the people; this is understandable. State security evidently cannot be attained, for the forseeable future, by political methods alone. We should have armed forces that ensure our country's defense based on the principles of sensible sufficiency, and which guarantee, along with our foreign policy actions, a life and work for our people in peaceful conditions. The restructuring of the Armed Forces has precisely this thrust. The personnel of the Armed Forces is the most precious thing they have... in particular the officer corps. It is precisely this corps that is capable today of ensuring, to a decisive extent, the high quality of the Armed Forces and all its constituent parts.

The prestige of the military profession is, unfortunately, falling. Never before have we had such a situation in our country. What is the matter here? I think that with all openness we ought to say that forces have emerged in the country that are trying to discredit the Army and the Navy. Certain publications have become the mouthpiece of these forces, and they paint a black picture of life in the Army.

It is shameful to speak of the uselessness of the Armed Forces. And what intentions—right up to carrying out coup d'etat—are ascribed to them! Of course, this is an unforgiveable lie. Unfortunately, it is worming its way into the souls of young people.

In the United States and in other countries, a man in uniform enjoys great social respect. Insults against him are simply not tolerated. Moreover, a U.S. servicemen's material welfare provisions are high. In our country, for a long time this has been a failure. All too often each member of an army or navy officer's family gets R70; the wife has no possibility of working and many pay R100 a month for their meagre pay for renting private apartments. Many officers say outright that they live below the poverty line, and this is indeed the case. A military pilot, to give an example, gets between R240 and 250. This is half as much as a bus driver gets! The low level of material welfare provisions is the second cause of the decline in the prestige of military professions.

To conclude, it is impossible not to state that officers have a large amount of duty tasks. It would be more accurate to say they are overburdened. In a number of units, officers are on duty for 12 - 15 hours in a 24 hour period. In continuous duty units large psychological and physical loads are the officers' lot. The social protection of servicemen, the raising of the moral prestige of army service, and a substantial improvement of material provisions, including pay, for servicemen should, it appears to us, be the priority concerns of our highest legislative body. We ask the Supreme Soviet to approve the proposals of the Committee for Defense and State Security and the Defense Ministry—as one of the steps to be taken to have these problems resolved—to set aside in 1990 the requisite allocations within the total defense spending in order to improve the material welfare and social conditions of servicemen and their families.

We in the Committee for Defense and State Security have looked very attentively, and I personally have looked very attentively at all the draft materials relating to the state budget and the plan. I think that they are very solid, indubitably so, although not without shortcomings. Evidently, some sort of further work on them will be required.

But, you know, I think it would be unforgivable, as far as the people are concerned, to fail to approve these most important documents. It seems to me that it is a fundamental step that will instill faith in our population and in all of us along the path leading to the stabilization of the financial and economic situation. Thank you for your attention.

Aytmatov On Scientific, Artistic Exodus

LD3110214489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1747 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Speech by Deputy Chinghiz Aytmatov, from the recorded relay of 31 October Supreme Soviet Session in the Kremlin]

[Excerpt] [Aytmatov] One Soviet youth, who is now 17 and is from Siberia, went off to the United States one year ago to acquire permanent resident status there and to devote himself to science. The authorities of a university there saw from the entrance examinations that the Russian youth who had come to them possessed outstanding abilities, awarded him a grant equivalent to our professorial salary, and created all the conditions necessary for him to pursue his studies and to carry out research at the same time. Moreover, the emigre family received a good apartment in a small town nearby, as well as credit with which to purchase personal transportation. There can be no doubt that the United States gains in this way, by skimming the cream off from the whole world. Its capital investment will tomorrow be recovered a hundred-fold as in no other area, and its scientific potential is multiplying like yeast. Similarly, a few days ago, I was struck by the fact that beside each seat in a new passenger aircraft there was a telephone with which one could call any part of the world during the flight. But that's a different matter.

But what was it that had prompted a Soviet family to set off on such a distant journey—not at all easy and not always so propitious? The reason seems to me to be, above all, the lack of value and respect in our totalitarian consciousness, which implies a universal levelling

approach, as a revolutionary class principle, to the highly gifted and unusual individual, to society's intellectual resources in particular, and as a whole. In the case in point, a part was played not only by the material hardships of our way of life, especially in outlying areas, but also by the fact that the youth would have had to cope with the inevitable fate of being called up into the Army. His parents were apprehensive about this, and not without good reason: The lad might have returned a psychological and physical cripple from the bullying ways of life in the services, not to mention the fact that a gap in the development of the modern intellect is impermissible, since it is a growing creative act.

In order to save their son from this fate, the parents opted for emigration. This case might seem to be an individual one, but it has connections with our whole way of life. The phenomenon is usually called the brain drain, and it is the first sign of cultural degradation. It is to be explained not just by a country's poverty, but also by false social doctrines about the blessings of the universal levelling-down. Culture cannot develop fully without the primacy conferred upon it by a democratic society. The brain drain does not just affect the scientific environment, especially the technical side; the country is being abandoned by hosts of musicians. The Moscow Conservatory was once noted for its supreme teaching staff as a worldwide achievement—a staff that is now melting away. Some of the most interesting artists, writers, cinema, and theater personalities are leaving. All this inevitably affects the future of our own culture. And does it not indicate that the totalitarian society, at the end of which we are living and from which we are freeing ourselves with such difficulty, acquiring democracy for the first time, is no longer able to attract its intellectual elite? Without that, as life has already proved long ago, the progress of civilization is impossible. [passage omitted]

1990 Plan, Budget Debated

LD3110113289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 31 October carries a 6-minute report by Igor Zorin from the correspondent's center in the Kremlin on the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 31 October. Zorin notes that the 1990 plan and budget are the focus of today's Supreme Soviet session. Gorbachev opened the session and he is chairman today, Zorin notes. "Initially he said that more than 100 people had registered to speak from the session's floor on these issues, and he remarked as a joke that he would be able to implement everybody's request by the New Year."

This week there are four plenary sessions of the Supreme Soviet instead of the usual two, Zorin points out, and it is intended that the debates on the plan and budget and the adoption of a law on them will be carried through in this period.

Zorin says that Deputy Nazarbeyev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, was the first speaker today. On the subject of military conversion in his republic, he stated that the capacity released from military enterprises for peacetime production will make it possible to increase the output of consumer goods by R60 million. He went on to point out that because of organizational work by local soviets, "Kazakhstan will accomplish the housing program for the 5-year plan in the 3d quarter of this year." Nazarbayev also spoke about Kazakhstan's initiative in sharply increasing the development of peasant farms over the last 3 years, increasing the private sector to a size where Kazakhs will be able to keep up to 1,500 head of sheep.

Academician Yemelyanov of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences called for a better use of resources by enterprises, Zorin notes, and proposes that collective farms should have what he called their "nonexistent debt," totalling R140,000 million, written off. Zorin goes on to outline the speeches by other deputies. Zorin reports that Deputy Borovkov from Leningrad said that effective individual means of protecting workers, such as special clothing, should be produced by a state order. These items should be given equivalent status to consumer goods, he considers.

Deputy Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee said that more than 60 percent of housing in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic is built on an individual basis, but there are always shortages of raw materials and financial credit available to individuals engaged in this construction, Zorin says. He also expressed concern about the disastrous ecological situation in and around the Aral Sea, noted correspondent Zorin.

Zorin reports that Deputy Korneva, director of a Kiev knitwear factory, voiced the opinion that existing planning practices do not promote consumer goods production, as many processes in light industry are not being backed up with raw materials.

Deputy Bresis, chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers assessed the 1990 plan and budget from the point of view of his own republic's transition to financial autonomy and self-financing, and proposed that "the entire growth in income from all production units be left within the republic, otherwise financial autonomy maybe choked," Zorin reports. "In his opinion, it is necessary to transfer to an economic operation whereby a plan contract will exist between republics and the central departments, and that each side must bear responsibility for the nondelivery of raw materials, because, in his words, the country fails to receive 40-50 percent of these products."

This speech was followed by others from deputies Velikhov, Rakhimov, Matviyenko, and Aytmatov, notes Zorin. The writer Aytmatov spoke out against cuts in the allocations made to the mass media, including the USSR Gostelradio, "which in his word would inflict great damage on the social sphere," Zorin continues. This would mean that radio and television "would be forced

to use more advertisements, while the aesthetic, social, and informative orientation of programs would deteriorate," said Aytmatov, according to Zorin.

Zorin concludes by saying that the session has just paused for a 20-minute interval.

Plan, Budget Approved

LD3110183889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1807 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 31 October—The TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Today the Soviet Parliament approved the state plan and budget of the country for next year at a joint session of the chambers. The main goal of these documents is to halt the deterioration of the Soviet economy. [passage omitted]

Further on Budget Debates

LD3110195589 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliament endorsed the state plan and budget for 1990 at a bicameral meeting today.

The draft plan and budget submitted by the Soviet Government to the USSR Supreme Soviet early in September were thoroughly analysed in parliamentary committees and commissions. Various viewpoints were expressed during the debate. There were even suggestions that the documents be returned to the Council of Ministers for reworking.

However, a balanced approach and the awareness that the draft plan and budget, though taxing the country's possibilities to the limit, are still feasible, has prevailed. Many deputies emphasised that in the present difficult economic conditions a confrontation between parliament and the government is one luxury too many.

The adopted plan abandoned the dogma that all indices should be considerably increased. The Gross National Product is planned to increase by 2.3 per cent as compared with 1989.

The social tendency of the plan has become more marked. The growth of the output of consumer goods is planned to be 13 times larger than the increase of the output of the means of production. This will help ease tension in the consumer market.

The state will allocate 13.4 billion roubles for the improvement of the population's living standards, an increase of 40 per cent on what was initially planned.

Spending on capital construction has been sharply curtailed. Hundreds of billions of roubles have already been frozen in the area in the form of the incomplete projects. The budget is aimed at financial improvement of the economy and the reduction of the state spending.

Under the budget, revenues for 1990 will amount to 429.9 billion roubles, and expenditures to 489.9 billion roubles. In order to cover the budget deficit, which should be limited to 60 billion roubles, it is planned to issue state bonds for enterprises and organisations.

At the evening meeting at which the budget was endorsed, there was a debate concerning the suggestion of a number of committees and commissions that retail prices of tobacco, beer, some fish and meat products (for instance, caviar and crab meat) should be raised to provide funds for some urgent social measures.

Many deputies said that there should be no price increases for food products. This adversely affects the living standards of broad sections of the population, they stressed.

The Supreme Soviet rejected the price increases and instructed the government, jointly with the parliamentary committees and commissions, to find a sum of 2.6 billion roubles from other sources.

The deputies rejected a proposed ten per cent spending cut for TASS, the NOVOSTI Press Agency, television and radio broadcasting.

The Soviet parliament will continue its work on Wednesday [1 November].

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Budget

LD0111134989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 1 Nov 89

["Conversation" between Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and unidentified radio correspondents, place and date not given; from the "People's Deputy's Tribune" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Important decisions have been made on the plan and budget for 1990. What is your opinion about the policy of the government and the policy of deputies—a most difficult contact.

[Ryzhkov] I think that they were 2 complex days. I think that we have been through a very complex stage. This is in essence, the first plan that has been formulated and formed in new conditions That is, in conditions when a permanently functioning legislature is working when there are so many commissions which directly, as they say, investigate all of the problems. For this reason, I, for example, am satisfied with the fact that such a complex, most complex, plan for next year has, after all, received support today, and this, to some extent, is an expression of trust in the government, that it is on the correct path, that is, what was said at the congress, what was said at the first session of the Supreme Soviet, and you know, very many problems have been raised. Nevertheless, today we have received trust. Deputies are saying that, in these most complex conditions in which the economy

finds itself, we have, nevertheless, found correct solutions. So, however difficult everything was, I consider that a great thing has been done today.

The main thing, perhaps, is not so much the government. I think that we have mapped out very serious steps for the development of the economy for the coming year, for enhancing well-being, and in general for improving the health of the economy. After all, we were faced with the most complex task: On the one hand, not only not to worsen people's material position, but even to improve it to some extent, and in parallel, simultaneously, we have to take the first step in improving the health of the economy.

What is improving the health of the economy? To speak at the macro level, this is the financial balance of the national economy, it is the balance of monetary incomes and expenditure. I am not saying that we have resolved everything concerning 1990. Such problems cannot be resolved in a year. Very persistent work—in my view, over a period of several years—will be required for this, but persistently, just as we have worked today. You will have noticed that we were taking a very firm position today, so that, say, the extent of the state budget deficit should not exceed the figure which we had set.

You would think it would be the other way around: the government ought to come up with a proposal so that things might be a bit easier for it, that is, a budget of, say, not 60 billion, but rather 62 or 63 billion. We, on the contrary, stood firm because in no case, however difficult it might be for us, we have to embark on this. There were very many proposals of all kinds, and I had the feeling that some people would even like to raise this bar—not everyone, of course. The deputies who have a good knowledge of the economy understood, of course, that this bar cannot be raised at all. If we start raising it, we are departing from these principles.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Ivanovich, it seemed to the journalists accredited to the session that today, so to speak, in the policy of the government and the policy of the legislators, the round was won by the government, its policy was more subtle, deeper, and had reserves to spare.

[Ryzhkov] Well, thank you for such an assessment. I think that the Supreme Soviet is as they say, going through a great school of learning. This is the first work of the commission in essence, that is for real. So when the commissions came up with certain proposals which didn't find support today—you know these proposals—this lies in the fact that they hadn't properly thought through in advance the reaction to the proposals that were submitted. In general, they were made from good motives, and I very much sympathize with the chairman of the Planning and Budget Commision, Viktor Grigoryevich Kucherenko, who found himself in such a position. I don't envy him.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, let me remind our respected radio listeners that we are talking about whether to raise or not to raise the prices of certain goods, not essential goods, but luxuries, including tobacco, and something else, beer and sausages.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, tobacco, beer, and luxury food products. Well, there were several other proposals... to remove financing, say, from television and radio and then some restrictions on light industry. Particularly stormy objections and debates were provoked by certain restrictions on the benefits which are granted to our public organizations. You heard the speeches by Lavrov, and Mikhail Aleksandrovich Ulyanov, and Likhanov. I don't know who should get most points today. I think we have done common work. That's how I would put it.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Ivanovich, what is the most important priority that you would single out in the plan for 1990?

[Ryzhkov] I think that there are aims and there are priorities. As for aims, we have formulated them precisely. That is, we have to improve the situation on the consumer market and remove a certain social tension. Of course, we won't solve all of the problems for next year in their entirety, but we will at least take a step forward, so that there should not be such social tension in society.

The second thing is restricting the budget deficit—about which I have already spoken—to R60 billion. The third thing is that we must always think of the futher development of the country. At times we forget a little about long-term development. These are the aims. As for priorities, to date, I would consider the following priorities. Why do I say to date? Because I think that every stage has its own priorities, and they always will have—they will always differ. The main prorities for today are consumer goods. Of particular concern to me is food output, food goods. Regarding non-food consumer goods we are confident that with a very high pace we will cope with them. Regarding food, there is more of an inertial situation in agriculture. Processing is weak, but I would make agriculture the priority in our country. I think that—not because the workers of the agroindustrial complex take such a keen stand—I understand them, but I feel in my soul that things are really difficult for our rural sector. Until we resolve matters with food, we won't resolve the problems in the country. The country has to feed itself.

1 November Supreme Soviet Session Begins

LD0111084289 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliament again met today for a joint sitting of the two chambers. The sitting is chaired by First Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Deputies will hear a report by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the draft procedures of the

Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, bills on the status of deputies and the order of their recall.

Until now parliament has operated according to the procedure of the old Supreme Soviet which was called for two or three days several times a year to "rubber-stamp" decisions made by the government.

Therefore, deputies decided to accelerate the drafting of new documents which should meet the requirements of a permanently operating legislature.

In the afternoon the Supreme Soviet is also expected to examine bills on judicial administration and other court-related bills.

Lawmaking Procedures Discussed

LD0111134289 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet Parliament discussed ways of improving Soviet law-making procedures on Wednesday.

The Supreme Soviet began the discussion of a package of bills regulating working procedures for the highest bodies of state power and the rights of Soviet people's deputies.

The package includes bills getting working procedures for the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet sessions, a draft law on deputies' status and recalling procedures, and proposals on ways to renew the Supreme Soviet membership.

Deputies at the first Congress of People's Deputies and the summer session of the Supreme Soviet said previous parliamentary procedures were unacceptable, since the Supreme Soviet gathered twice a year for just two-three days.

A new bill presented today by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, is designed to streamline the lawmaking process and improve the efficiency with which the deputies' proposals are discussed.

The union republics will have a greater say in decision-making, and new procedures to protect their rights and the rights of ethnic minorities and groups of deputies will be developed.

A bill on the status of people's deputies will put their activities on a legal basis. The deputies will get a new right to ask for a vote of confidence on executives.

A bill on procedures to recall a deputy will become an effective guarantee of people's power, Nishanov said.

Deputies will be recalled if more than half of voters in the constituency agree.

In the short but sharp debate that followed, the deputies suggested a number of changes to the bills.

Working procedures for the Council of Nationalities shall not allow decisions to be adopted by a simple majority, because this infringes on the rights of republics, it was said.

Another proposal called for the annual reconfirmation of heads of parliamentary committees and commissions (currently they are not rotated to ensure continuity in the work of the Supreme Soviet).

The Supreme Soviet decided to pass the bills for improvement to its permanent bodies.

The bills have to be prepared for the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies which has the power to adopt them.

Political & Social

CPSU Issues Great October Anniversary Slogans

PM3110213189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

["CPSU Central Committee Slogans for the 72d Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"]

[Text] 1. Long live the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

2. Comrades! Perestroyka is the continuation of the great cause of Lenin, the cause of October! Fight to renew all aspects of the life of society with revolutionary energy and conviction!

3. All power to the soviets—the effective organs of socialist democracy!

4. USSR citizens! Let us cast our votes for true champions of perestroyka at the upcoming soviet elections!

5. Communists! A renewed society needs a renewed party to operate in it! Preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress means restructuring the work of the party as society's political vanguard!

6. USSR peoples! Let us transform the Soviet federation into a harmonious, flourishing multinational state!

7. Workers! Your labor, political awareness, and activeness are the key conditions of perestroyka's success!

8. Peasants! Show greater boldness in mastering progressive forms of farming! Removing the acuteness of the food problem depends on you!

9. Working people in science and culture! The people expect constructive and fruitful activity from you! Be equal to your intellectual mission!

10. Dear women! The country needs your creative energy, warmth of heart, and your solicitude more than ever before!

11. Young Soviet men and women! Members of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, perestroyka

is your revolution! The intellect and energy of the young must be directed toward the cause of renewing socialism!

12. Cordial congratulations to party, war, and labor veterans!

13. Soviet servicemen! Remember that perestroyka needs reliable security of the state! The people rely on you!

14. October greetings and amicable wishes to the peoples of socialist countries!

15. Our fervent salutations to the Communists and democratic forces of all continents!

16. Peoples of the earth! Let us pool our efforts to secure peace and preserve our planet for future generations!

'Memory' Chain, Demonstrations Described

LD3110154589 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] A live chain of memory for the vicitims of Stalinist repressions was organized on Monday evening around the KGB headquarters in the heart of Moscow. This unusual action was called for by a public organization Memorial. Here's a report by Sergey Vorobyev, who was on the spot.

Hundreds of people standing shoulder to shoulder lined around the KGB building. Many held burning candles and photographs of relatives and dear ones put to death during the years of Stalin's rule. That event was covered by many Soviet and foreign media. Next to the KGB building, I interviewed several participants in this impressive action.

Why did you decide on this action exactly here around the KGB building, I asked. It was mainly from this building that the entire system of repressions and destruction of people was directed for many decades. And what brought you here to this building? Oh God, exclaimed an elderly man, I spent 1 ½ years in jail here, and so I know this building only too well. We are former prisoners, added a lady accompanying the man. We met each other in a labor camp in the city of vorkuta and later we got married, and we're here because we don't want repressions to occur again. My surname is (?Smilga), another elderly lady identified herself. My father was a member of the Revolutionary Committee during the 1917 Socialist Revolution. He took part in the opposition to Stalin. He was exiled for this and shot by a firing squad 2 years later. My mother was a clandestine connection for Lenin, she was also shot by firing squad. I was arrested and brought to this building by this entrance 50 years and four months ago. I've nothing left but memory.

And now a brief interview with a KGB officer, Aleksandr Mikhaylov. What brought you here, duty or the will of the heart? Both, he said. In our building which is now surrounded by a live chain there's not a single person who would fail to mourn as these people mourn the victims of the repressions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties. Our generation has a task to perform, to restore the good names of the dead and of those who suffered during the years of Stalinism. Nowadays, as we review all cases, we've come up against facts of total lawlessness. this is beyond the standards of human morals and conscience, and the responsibility we bear has brought many KGB officers today to line in this chain, concluded Aleksandr Mikhaylov.

The live chain of memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions around the KGB building passed without excesses, but events later unfolded in the following way: When the people began to disperse an unofficial organization called the Democratic Union interfered and several hundred persons moved to Pushkin Square for a rally of their own. The rally was banned by the city authorities. A mob formed and traffic was paralyzed and the mob was stopped by a riot police unit. Some 40 persons were detained for serious violations of public order.

Komi Court Rules Vortuka Strike Illegal

LD3110191389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] The Supreme Court of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] has examined a civil dispute between the administration of a mine of the Vorkutaugol assiciation and strike committees, which declared strikes at a number of mines. The Vorgashorskaya mine has been on strike until today. Our correspondent, Yevgeniy Zubarev, asked (Vladimir Markovich Revaka), member of the autonomous republic's supreme court, for clarification.

[Begin recording] [(Revaka)] The administration of the association and mines disagreed with those strikes because they were held is disregard of the rules established by the 9 October 1989 law. It was the court's task to sort out whether the strikes had, indeed, been held in violation of the established rules, or whether the strikers had observed the established conditions, so to speak, and the question had only been to make the administration to comply with the law.

The following picture is emerging: The striking side does not want to listen to their opponents. Contempt of court was shown during the court hearing, when they said: Why the court is involving itself in this affair? The court will only make things worse; The court has nothing to do here. The miners state that they are not holding a new strike, but continuing the old one: We have resumed what we stopped at the request of the government commission. One should say that this is a profound mistake and a wrong interpretation of the law adopted on 9 October 1989. It has no legal importance whether or not this is a new strike, or whether or not it is being held at this enterprise for the first time because each strike should be held in strict compliance with the rules set out in the law.

The thing is that a strike brings to a standstill not only the activity of this particulkar enterprise, but affects the whole economy of the state in a grave way, so it is no accident that strikes are regarded as an extreme measure, or that the strike committee—the body that leads the strike—has to warn the the administration that we have exhausted all the measures, that our dispute had been examined by a reconciliation commission which had failed to reach an agreement. It has not been solved by labor arbitration, and we are starting a strike. The strike committees must warn the administration at least 5 days in advance about the beginning of the strike and its duration. Why have such time limits been set out by the law? Because the enterprise is not isolated within its structure, but is linked with many ministries and enterprises which have no intention to strike or to suport the strikers, but will suffer from this strike.

However, the court session revealed that nothing of the sort had been done. So coming back to this law, one should point out that the labor collectives at the mines have ignored it. They ignored it not because they were not aware of the law, so to speak, but because the complex procedure one should follow did not suite them. They would prefer that the Council of Ministers adopt this decision and fulfill it immediately. They are not interested in what sources should provide for the fulfillment of this decision.

[Zubarev] So, the Komi ASSR Supreme Court has adopted a decision?

[(Revaka)] The Supreme Court has adopted a decision in accordance with Article 12 and deemed the strike illegal. The Komi ASSR Supreme Court intends to carry out its decision. Naturally, we will be carrying it out in strict compliance with civil statutory law. [end recording]

Miners Continue Strike

LD3110171389 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Vorkuta October 31 TASS—Miners at the Vorgashorskaya mine in the Komi Autonomous Republic are continuing their strike adding economic pressure on the coal industry.

The pit is losing roughly a thousand tonnes of coal per hour and this has led to a slump in the total output of the Vorkutaugol mining amalgamation.

The amalgamation has been catastrophically failing to meet production targets.

Increasing numbers of Komi residents oppose the strike, saying that it has hit the people, the autonomous republic and the country.

Enterprises dependent on Vorkuta coal have called on the miners to be reasonable and stop the strike, but to no avail.

Status for Workers' Movement Demanded in Vorkuta

LD2810205389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast Correspondent Ye. Kuznetsov report from Vorkuta]

[Text] The decision to start a general political strike on the night of 25-26 October was made at a general town conference of workers of the strike committees on 19 October.

[Kuznetsov] [name indistinct] Borisovich, your demands are mainly political, and one of the main ones is that the workers' movement should be recognized, that the status of the workers' movement be recognized. Why?

[V.B. Utkin member of the interregional strike committee—identified by screen caption] Well, if you recall, we put forward these new demands during the first strike. The reason we consider recognition of status to be one of the main issues is because the strike committee today resolves a very large number of issues. People turn to it (?with their wants), and our legitimate organs—the trade unions and local soviets—are failing to resolve these issues.

[Kuznetsov] The strike was backed by 9 of the 13 mines, and it lasted 24 hours. Now the coal enterprises are working, intensive deliveries of coal are under way. One can say with confidence that this strike could have been avoided, but the lack—primarily on the part of the party committees—of a policy forestalling events, and a clumsy reaction to those events gains the upper hand over everything.

[V.I. Medvedev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers—identified by screen caption] The miners of Vorkuta are dissatisfied with the progress of implementation of Decision No 608, and therefore their main demand—in the resolution and in the decision of the town strike committee—consists of precisely this.

[Kuznetsov] Valentin Ivanovich, there are political demands there, too, though, to determine the status of the workers' movement.

[Medvedev] Some status is necessary. I would like to say that the trade union central committee proposed—in its variant of the law on strikes, I mean the law on strikes, for anyone who does not know—that the status of the workers' strike committee should be defined at the session. Our proposal did not find backing. Today it has no status.

[Kuznetsov] Valentin Ivanovich, I have no idea how our viewers, or say, Comrade (Babakin) will react to this, but I believe we have exhausted the limit of the revolution already, and in this context, the limit of the strikes, too, which are playing havoc with our economy generally.

[Medvedev] You are right, and I agree with you.

[Kuznetsov] In the evening of the day the strike ended, we witnessed what I can only call a historic event. For the first time in our country, hearings began in the town people's court on an action brought by the associated administration against the strike committees of the town and the mines to declare the strike illegal. True, we were surprised at not being allowed to film in the courtroom and at the fact that the respondents had no advocate.

So, wherein lies the lesson of October in Vorkuta? Evidently in the fact that the workers' movement has become a reality of restructuring, and consequently ought to be recognized in law, with the status of the workers' committees defined. Aside from mutual agreement, there simply is no other way.

Vorkuta Miners Urged To Observe New Law

PM3010121589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Yu. Feofanov report under the rubric "Topics of the Day": "Would It Not Be Better To Trust in the Law?"]

[Text] Anger, as we know, is a poor counselor. However, there is such a thing as righteous anger...

The miners' strikes in the summer were caused by working people's anger, the anger of hard-working people at the total disregard of their professional and worldly interests by the administration and the trade unions along the whole line from the bottom to the top, from mine management and trade unions to the government of the country and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]. The strike was like a thunderbolt... Though it cannot be claimed that it came out of the blue. The anger had built up over many years. And it was righteous...

However, taking a sober look at the dozens of the demands put forward by miners during the summer, you inevitably come to the conclusion that the miners were using a sledgehammer to crack a nut. (This deliberately excludes demands of statewide importance which were recognized as justified and were largely met). We have nowhere to wash... We are not being issued with the appropriate working clothes... Transport to work is not provided... Goodness, all this could have been resolved without going beyond the mine gates or the soviet executive committee [ispolkom]. However, no one has rebuked the miners for firing a shot which echoed around the hall of sessions of our parliament.

But now it is happening again... A few days ago IZVESTIYA reported that, at the decision of the Vorkuta city conference of workers (strike) committees, the dispatch of coal from the "Khalmer-Yu" mine had been suspended as of 19 October and 12 mines were to resume the strike as of 25 October. What is the reason this time? When moving from one mine to another people lose their northern bonus. Back in the summer miners demanded that this "procedure" be abolished. This was agreed. But the miners claim that the management resorted to a bureaucratic trick: It is possible to get the bonus at the new place of employment but... only at the discretion of the management and the labor collective council.

This caused the outburst of anger. But is it righteous this time? Outwardly—yes: Promises were made and not fulfilled. But what if the emotion is taken away? I deliberately mentioned earlier that the shot fired in July reverberated in the hall of sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Before our eyes people's deputies conducted a dialogue with the striking miners, took their concerns to heart, and accepted them as instructions. They did this in order to adopt the law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes, legitimizing strikes as an extreme measure for resolving a labor conflict but making provision for a number of procedures for reaching a "peaceful" settlement before resorting to this measure.

This excursion back into the hot days of July provides us with the pretext for asking the following question: Today, when there is a law protecting working people's interests, when it is possible at least to try to invoke its protection and test its strength, would it not be better to take this—the lawful!—path?

Incidentally, according to the latest report from our correspondent from Vorkuta, the former unanimity no longer exists among the miners. The stoppage of work at mines as from 0000 hours on 25 October was allegedly cancelled, then during the day three mines suspended operations, and the following morning its was already six mines. According to a "Vremya" report, on the evening of 26 October Vorkuta miners sent another package of demands to various authorities...

What authorities? The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers... But why not address the demands to the law, which provides for various procedures? And, in the last resort, why not address them to parliament? Obviously, the old ways seem more reliable. But they circumvent the legal procedure, they circumvent the law adopted by the Supreme Soviet in response to a direct demand from the miners and for the sake of the interests of all working people.

It is painful to admit that our society, although it is breaking away from the iceberg of administrative-command relations, has still not put into the harbor of law. Essentially, this whole thing has flared up not because of a reluctance to fulfill the agreed demands on principle, but because people are not being told about what has already been done or is about to be done. However, this use of old, secretive methods has an explosive charge embedded in it. Changing the bureaucratic style of leadership is difficult. But give it some thought, comrade workers: Do not emotional outbursts play into the hands of the bearers of this style, the opponents of perestroyka who are hiding behind their

desks? After all, they are not afraid of disturbances: They are afraid of democratic procedures based on law.

Yes, our working bureaucrats are skilled at playing games with the law. They have acquired this skill, and in doing so have inflicted serious damage on society. However, if the people or their most influential strata start playing with the law, if the unprecented legal act in the history of our country which has just been adopted on the insistence of those strata is rejected rather than respected and actually implemented by them, this could turn out to be a lethal blow to the rule-of-law state which we have only just begun building.

Decree Appointing Trushin as RSFSR Minister

PM3110150989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

["Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution on the Appointment of Comrade V.P. Trushin as Minister of the Internal Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet resolves:

To appoint Comrade Vasiliy Petrovich Trushin RSFSR minister of internal affairs.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Moscow, The Kremlin, 27 October 1989

Vlasov Address to RSFSR Supreme Soviet

LD2810222589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Speech by Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Council of Ministers, at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 27 October—recorded]

[Text] Comrade deputies, the issues of expanding the sovereign rights of union republics, of territories transferring to the principles of self-management and self-financing are presently the focus of public attention. An increase in the regions' involvement, independence, and responsibility for accelerating socio-economic development, and for enhancing the effectiveness of public sector production, is correctly linked with resolving these issues. This is one of the most important tasks of the current, exceptionally complicated stage of perestroyka.

As is known, the new methods of territorial management represent an organic constituent part of the radical economic reform, initiated by the June 1987 party Central Committee plenum decisions. Work to implement them is under way in the republic. Moreover, our main efforts are concentrated on the main link in the economy: enterprises and associations. Currently they all have been transferred onto various models of financial autonomy.

Leasehold relations are becoming ever more widespread, albeit not without difficulties. As of 1 October this year approximately 10 percent of industrial enterprises and associations, and 30 percent of construction trusts operated in the conditions of normative income distribution and on the leasehold basis. In the agroindustrial complex, 1,200 collective and state farms have completely gone over to leasehold relations. The rate of labor productivity growth has gone up at these enterprises; expenditure per each ruble's worth of commodity output has gone down; the scale of work to reconstruct and retool production facilities has been expanded. Contractual obligations are fulfilled here more strictly. The rate of growth in the volume of production of output is two to three times higher. Measures are being taken to reconstruct planning, material and technical supplies, financial and credit mechanisms. The activities of ministries and departments will be further improved and various types of associations will be set up during the implementation of the general management scheme in the RSFSR. Work has begun to set up new organizational-economic structures, associations, concerns, and consortiums.

Naturally, we understand we are only at the beginning of our journey. The reform is proceeding with difficulties and, at times, in a contradictory manner. It has so far failed to yield the desired results. Moreover, certain problems have even exacerbated. One of the reasons for this is seen in the fact that we have not succeeded in implementing one of the most important principles of the reform—to have industry by industry and territorial planning and management combined. Moreover, a result of enterprises going over to full financial autonomy was that the gulf between the interests of labor collectives and of territories grew bigger; the question of solving the problem of social infrastructure and of providing foodstuffs, goods, and services to the population has become even more difficult. The situation which has become exacerbated and the search for a way out of it have objectively brought closer the transfer of republics and regions to the principles of financial autonomy. It should be recalled that this idea was first reflected in the documents of the 19th party conference. Subsequently it became more developed and more specific in the draft laws on the general principles of economic management and the social sphere in the union republics, and also on the general principles of the local self-management and local economy.

The republican bodies and the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics and oblast executive committees of the Russian federation took an active part in preparing these drafts. They were engendered in a struggle of opinions, in the clash between various and, at times, diametrically different concepts of territorial financial autonomy.

The drafts have now, as is known, become the subject of heated discussions in the USSR Supreme Soviet too. The transition to self-management and self-financing is of exceptional significance for Russia. Our point of view consists, first and foremost, in enhancing the independence and responsibility of republican and local bodies for everything that is concerned with satisfying the requirements and needs of people.

Taking into account the variety of the local conditions, the multinational composition of the population, a special significance is assumed, as far as we are concerned, by [passage indistinct].

Here is one more important peculiarity. Almost two-thirds of the republic's territory is in the zone of the far north or equivalent regions. Gigantic reserves of natural resources, which it is of great importance for the whole country to bring into economic circulation, are concentrated there. However, the severity of natural and climatic conditions and the remoteness from developed regions causes a significant increase in the cost of building and operating enterprises and facilities of the social sphere in that zone. For example, expenditure on the construction of one square meter of housing in the regions of Siberia is one-and-one-half times the cost in the European part of the country, and in the Far East,

The intensive development of new regions is unthinkable without concentrating the efforts of all union republics. for this purpose, it evidently will be necessary to create special, centralized, union-level funds. We have submitted proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers on all the principal matters connected with the peculiarities of shaping Russia's budget, including revision of wholesale prices for raw material resources and quotas for deductions, which alone make it possible for the republic to go over to exchange on a basis of equal value. The elaboration of a self-financing mechanism for the republic depends to a great degree on the solution of these issues.

We also face similar problems in forming a self-financing mechanism for the oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics. It is also necesary here to take into account the differences that have taken shape in the conditions from which they will start, and primarily, of the nonuniform level of the economic potential created in them. It is enough to say that the Gulf between highest and lowest per-capita indicators among the regions amounts to 7 times for production of national income, 10 times for output of goods production of industry and gross agricultural production, and almost 5 times for the profitability level of industrial production. Sharp and sometimes multiple differences between the regions also have developed in the field of social and domestic provision.

On the basis of a per-capita calculation, such differences amount to approximately 2 times for provision of housing, 3.7 times for children's pre-school establishments, and tens of times for the emission of harmful substances, meaning the ecology. An extremely serious ecological situation has developed in many rayons, towns, and workers' settlements in the republic. In order to improve it, alongside targeted allocations from ministries and departments, we also need additional budgetary resources compensating to some degree for the unfavorable conditions in which the population lives. This also means special funds, including risk funds in the event of unforeseen situations. These measures also should be envisaged when siting new, ecologically dangerous production facilities.

It is also important to take into account the specific character of the development of productive forces in the various oblasts, krays, and republics. For instance, 30 of our territories specialize primarily in producing means of production, and there is a virtual absence of light industry in a number of them. There are regions predominantly engaged in agriculture; at the same time, 32 territories do not cover with their own output the level of meat consumption which has developed, and 40 do not do so for milk and dairy products. Besides, it should be borne in mind that in 30 regions of Russia, expenditure exceeds revenue, and the economy in some of them is firmly (?one-sided) in nature. Such territories include the Dagestan, Kalmyk, Tuva and Yakut autonomous republics, and Murmansk, Magadan, Kamchatka, and a number of other oblasts. In Magadan oblast, for instance, budgetary revenue is calculated at a level of R1.7 billion, while expenditure is R2,000.

In Yakutiya, expenditure exceeds income by more than R500 million. At the same time, there are quite a number of regions that contribute substantial sums of many billions to the union and republican budgets, but that lag noticeably behind other regions in the development of their social spheres. This applies, in particular, to Kemerovov, Tyumen, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and certain other oblasts, where the level of provision of the population with housing, kindergartens, and cultural and health establishments is noticeably lower than the RSFSR average.

These facts indicate that the standardized levelling approach to territorial self-financing in the context of the Russian Federation is totally unacceptable. In this respect, we agree with the views of deputies Comrades (Politov), (Romanov), and Sorokurov, and others: a strictly differentiated approach is called for here, and we will have to seek various options—I would call them specific models—for the formation of local budgets and a multimodel transition to self-administration and self-financing, without ruling out an interregional approach, either. As the regional self-financing mechanism was being devized, we became confirmed in the view that it could only function on the basis of steady sources and stable long-term norms. It should be stressed in particular that the formation of local budgets must proceed, as a rule, without additional allocations from the union or republic budgets. It would be wrong, and indeed unjust, to give advantages to some territories at the expense of others. At the same time, we still will have a duty to partially redistribute budget resources in order to boost

the population's living conditions in a number of territories that, for one reason or another, have fallen behind in their social development. This will require the creation of special compensatory mechanisms designed to insure an equalling out of the regions' starting conditions. Naturally, these mechanisms also must incorporate the additional resources specified by the well-known decisions on the Non-Chernozem Zone, the Far East, Murmansk, and other oblasts. This approach probably should be employed within the oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics, as well.

Taking all this into account, practical recommendations now have been drawn up in the republic for working out a composite financial balance sheet showing each territory. It is our view that this will make it possible to fix the proportions for the distribution of resources among the union, republic, and local bodies of administration, and to create all the necessary conditions for the optimal combination of statewide and regional interests.

Now on to the expansion of the foundations of self-administration, which is the other component part of the region's transition to new principles of territorial management. I am referring to a broad range of measures aimed at raising local soviets" independence and responsibility. They should be endowed with rights and economic levers that enable them to insure the integrated socioeconomic development of the territories within their jurisdiction. One of the main features here is placing enterprises and organizations of union and republican subordination under the management of republican and local agencies. Envisaged are those enterprises the output of which is earmarked primarily for satisfying the needs of the population of some territory or other. The point of such a hand-over lies in bringing management closer to enterprises and associations with a view to raising the efficiency of their work. In doing so, of course, the interests of the labor collectives must be observed. Without their agreement, the enterprises may not be handed over from one subordination to another. This is the main rule.

As you know, the agroindustrial complex, enterprises of construction and building materials, and of trade and the light industry were placed under the management of the RSFSR Council of Ministers this year. Moreover, the production infrastructure of regional significance and a few interindustry plants are being brought under the management of the Russian Federation. As a result, according to preliminary calculations, the share of the industry of republican subordination will increase from 4 to 27 percent.

At the same time placing enterprises of the agroindustrial complex, the local and fuel industry, and also housing, public utilities, and consumer services under the direct management of local soviets will be implemented more vigorously. Favourable opportunities will thus be created for more integrated socioeconomic development of territories and the transition to self-sufficiency for many kinds of output. In connection with this the rights and functions of the republic's ministries and departments will change.

I must say outright, comrades, that the development of a mechanism for territorial management is something absolutely new and needs thorough vetting. It is for this reason that the decision was made regarding the transition in stages of regions of the Russian Federation to the principles of self-financing and self-management.

From 1 January 1990 the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Sverdlovsk, and Kemerovo Oblast, and the city of Moscow will change over to these principles. Leningrad, Vologda, Vladimir, Volgograd, Kuybyshev, Moscow, Tomsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts have also put forward their proposals. Twenty more regions have started preparations. The republic's government supports such an initiative. The diversity of experience will also enable other territories to prepare better for the transition to the new methods of management.

Development the concept of management of the economy and the social sphere in the republic as a whole is being conducted at the same time. A search is under way for the optimum model of management today to which the RSFSR wil decide to change over from the start of the 13th 5-year plan-period. Economic departments and Siberian, Urals, and Far Eastern branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a few institutes and representatives of the public have been attached to all this work. Methodological assistance is being given to the territories by republican bodies and the Russian Federation Council of ministers' commission for improving the economic mechanism.

Each regional project is being give serious expert examination. At present, documents on Tatariya and Sverdlovsk, as well as on Kemerovo, Chelyabinsk, and Vologda Oblasts are under consideration in the Council of Ministers. At its session the other day, Mossovet discussed the main provisions for business management, financial-autonomy relations, and the development of self-administration in the city. The final decision on these matters will be adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers. In the documents drawn up it is deemed expedient for the local soviets to compile and confirm socioeconomic development plans for their territory themselves on the basis of control figures, state orders, and long-term economic norms and limits. It is intended that they be permitted to set output production targets in excess of state orders and to render various services to all enterprises, irrespective of the department to which they are subordinate.

Local soviet bodies are also being granted the right to attract additional financial resources and set up funds outside the budget, and to increase expenditure on maintaining establishments in the sociocultural sphere. They have increasing opportunities in the area of setting prices and in tackling a range of other issues. Study of the documents has made it possible, for the most part, to come to a decision on the specific sources and norms for

the formation of local budgets. These will make territorial self-financing possible. In particular, it is envisioned that payments from the profits of subordinate enterprises and organizations, money paid by enterprises for water, land and labor resources, and also revenue from local taxes and duties levied on the population will be left fully at the disposal of the localities. As for such sources as turnover tax and payments from the profits of enterprises subordinate to the union or republic, there are very substantial variations here, allowing for the territory's specific features and the level of development of its productive forces. Deductions from turnover tax vary from 6 to 80 percent, while payments from profits vary from 10 to 50 percent, and considerable differentiation is being considered for some other sources of local budget income as well.

It would thus probably be premature to talk today of increased or reduced deducation norms across the republic as a whole. Overall, comrades, the general outline is already emerging of a model for transfer of the territories to the principles of self-financing and self-administration, taking account of the specific features and circumstances here in Russia, but it goes without saying that much remains to be filled in. In particular, additional work must be done on the models for transition to self-administration and self-financing of autonomous oblasts, national okrugs and national rayons. Much here is going to depend on the enshrinement in legislation of the provisions of the CPSU platform on the status of these national-territorial formations.

It is worth dwelling especially on certain disturbing points that were encountered while preparing for the transition to the new methods of territorial administration. Above all, the proposals from the localities are distinctly showing a consumerist tendency, a desire to obtain the most favorable terms possible for themselves and to redistribute the union and republican budget to their advantage. Vologda Oblast, for instance, requests a R300 million increase in the volume of resources allocated from central funds, Chelyabinsk requests a R400 million increase, and Sverdlovsk a R200 million increase or between 10 and 20 percent of the budget volumes for those regions this year.

One gets the impression that in this neither the country's interests, nor Russia's interests, are in any way taken into account, to say nothing of the regions which will turn out to be at the tail-end of the queue, as it were. Similar tendencies are also making themselves felt in the efforts by some local bodies to gain control over enterprises subordinate to the union or republican level. Here, as a rule, no practical measures are put forward to safeguard forward-moving development of the enterprises themselves, the introduction of scentific and technological achievements, and new forms of running the business. Unfortunately, some people at present see enterprises being subordinate in the old, familiar sense—as being able to command them.

We are already encountering cases when the local bodies, without taking local collectives' views into account, compel enterprises to alter their production profile, directing them towards satisfying merely the regional requirements. Here the ties that have become established with the enterprises of other regions are, not infrequently, ignored, along with their technological potential and even economic viability factors. There are more and more instances when enterprises get arbitrarily imposed pay norms for labor and natural resources. Thus, the Ufa town council has set the payment per each hectare of land for all developers at R80,000. Apart from that a tax has been introduced in the capital of Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist republic [ASSR] it is to be paid by enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives for taking new people on and for having those out of town registered, and it amounts to almost R10,000 per person. In Cheboksary, enterprises and organizations are obliged to pay into the municipal treasury more than R12,000 per each worker attracted from outside. The figure in Nizhniy Tagil—taking into account the machine shift coefficient—is no less than R25,000.

In the meantime, and as provided for in the Law on State Enterprise, all these questions ought to be resolved upon a legal basis and according to the established norms.

During examination of the proposal to have territories transferred to self-financing and self-management, we have also encountered instances when—by-passing the Law on State Enterprise—the local authorities strive to arrogate to themselves the right to dispose of the output that has been produced. The Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers, for example, lays claims to the entire increase in the output produced by enterprises subordinate to the union or republican level. It is not difficult to imagine the consequences of such demands for the national economy complex of the republic and the country. At present Tatar ASSR produces almost three quarters of the all-union volume of butyl rubber; half of cine and photographic materials, more than a quarter of polyethylene, 17 percent of motor vehicle tires and 10 percent of trucks.

There is no doubt that one must always bear in mind that the economic potential attained by a republic, kray, or oblast represents a result of the joint toil of all republics and the entire Russian federation.

When fiscal interests are regarded as being of paramount interests, departmental diktat inevitably is aggravated by local diktat. Moreover, when meeting with working people, it is said frankly that oblast diktat is far worse than ministerial diktat. How can one fail to remember Lenin's words here to the effect that local bureaucracy with local influence is worse than [word indistinct] between the working people, the people, and the authorities. In this connection, one should stress again and again that the entire restructuring of management, including the changeover of territories to principles of self-management and self-financing are designed; above

all, to insure a high degree of economic independence for enterprises as the main link of our management system.

Strict adherence to the requirements of the Law on the State Enterprise is of fundamental importance. One cannot fail to agree with Comrade (Toropov), deputy from the town of Kovrov, when he addressed our session: We workers are wholeheartedly in favor of funancial autonomy, but in the first place, in favor of financial autonomy at each working station in which the producer is the main figure because first everything needs to be produced. However, many today wish only to share.

What Comrade Toropov said was right: he needs to be be supported fully.

In general, comrades, enthusiasm for the idea of regional financial autonomy from a purely distributive position contains within it autarkic tendencies. The development of these can lead to a disrpution of the objective processes of the socialization of production, the all-union division of labor, and within it, specialization and coproduction, the all-union division of labor, and within it, specialization and coproduction. I must say that unfortunately the inclination toward regional isolation is becoming a reality. The disruption of the economic links that had come about is being felt increasingly painfully. The scale of spontaneous barter trade among territories is increasing in an attempt to solve local problems by selling off, including abroad, raw materials resources and even output that is in short supply. I would say that all this respresents a manifestation of regional egoism and an aspiration to escape one's obligations to the country and the republic. Some people already are taking the idea of territorial financial autonomy to an absurd extent, passing it off as a kind of salutory recipe to emerge from the crisis situation in which we find ourselves. If republics or regions actually embark on the slippery path of total economic independence, this inevitably will lead to the disintegration of the country's unified national economic complex. In turn, it is not difficult to guess that such a course of events would boomerang upon each republic, kray, or oblast, and taht emotional euphoria inevitably would be followed by a serious sobering up. We are resolutely against the transformation of our union state into a union of national states or of the Russian Federation into a patchwork quilt, a kind of conglomerate of separate fiefdoms. In contrast to the concept of autarky and regional isolation, we regard the Federation not as an end in itself, but as the way toward further economic and political integration and toward an increasingly close union, which augments the efforts of peoples in the struggle for social progress. This approach presupposes both organically and intrinsically the undoubted priority of union-wide interests. Incidentally, the idea of this priority is part of the course of the humanistic quest or progressive social thought which always has placed the interest of mankind in general above the advantage of any individual nation or social group. Nevertheless, many people now are casting doubt on this apparently indisputable truth and are launching fierce attacks on it. All the discussions about priorities have been concentrated on issues of ownership. It is a cause for concern that they already are moving across from the sphere of theoretical arguments to the level of practical actions. There are well-known incidents in which land, water, mineral resources have been proclaimed the property of republics and regions, when they talk about their diamonds, gold, coal, or oil, and in some places announce their entitlement even to air space.

We all need, comrades, to ponder very seriously the possible consequences of such claims. We must ponder, above all, whether the Marxist-Leninist view of property is not being forgotten in the heat of argument. I should put it this way: If we stand for a single USSR, we are obliged to regard natural resources as belonging to the whole nation. With such an approach, one can speak of the property of the republics or regions only from the point of view of the right to dispose of, use and control those resources. These, comrades, in general terms, are the main principles on which we build the concept of the transition of the republic and its regions to the new methods of administration. Of course, many aspects of this may be adjusted when the well-known package of laws on property, land, the socialist enterprise, a unified taxation system, and leasehold relations is passed. As you know, it is only after that that the USSR Supreme Soviet will examine the draft laws on the general principles of economic management and of the social sphere in the union republics and regions.

The coming year, comrades, will be for us a year of hard work on the changeover to the principles of self-financing and self-government. The government intends to inform the RSFSR Supreme Soviet at regular intervals about the progress of that work. In turn, we are entitled to expect that both the deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet and the USSR people's deputies representing Russia will take a keen interest in the work and be actively involved in it. Certainly, the Council of Ministers has taken note of all the critical comments and requests made at the current session, and also all the suggestions dictated by concern for the well-being of Russia. This applies not only to the basic issues associated with the enhancement of the economic independence of the republic, but also to the further improvement of its superstructures. One has in mind the problems of the sovereign rights of the RSFSR and of the strengthening of its status, of which Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov spoke in detail in his report.

In conclusion, comrades, I should like to emphasize once again that the whole restructuring of administration, including the territorial aspect, has been conceived to raise the efficiency of public production. At the same time, the republic's economic situation is becoming ever more strained. An increasing number of enterprises are failing to fulfil their contractual obligations. The situation on the consumer market is not getting any better, and the shortage of food and non-food commodities is increasing. The imbalance between goods and money has intensified. Matters are not being put right in capital construction. Unfortunately, in this situation many local

soviet and economic organs both in the center and in the localities are not intervening actively enough in the processes which are taking place and are, in effect, losing their grip on the levers of administration. The government of the republic is assessing the situation self-critically and taking measures to get on top of the negative trends in economic development. We have drawn up programs on housing, food, consumer goods, financial amelioration, and other matters, which provide the necessary prerequisites for normalizing the situation. But if they are to be implemented, there must be resolute action, concrete organizational work, and the highest sense of responsibility on the part of everyone. This applies both to the republican organs and to the local ones.

In the course of creative and enterprising work, experience of independent management will be amassed step by step. This is the experience that, alone, can become the reliable base from which to shape a really viable [passage indistinct].

RSFSR Council of Ministers Views Economic Ills

PM3110104589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The results of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's [RSFSR] socioeconomic development during the 1st 9 months were the topic of detailed and exacting discussion at the latest sitting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. The overall appraisal of the prevailing situation was sharply critical: The measures taken to implement economic reform and to improve management and the economic mechanism have failed to produce tangible results in the development of the RSFSR's economy, its financial recovery, and the enhancement of the people's living standards. The rates achieved in the growth of national income and social labor productivity are almost one-half of what was planned for the current year.

Analyzing the causes of the major problems in the development of the national economy's sectors and the republic's regions, the RSFSR Council of Ministers especially noted the decline in exactingness, poor standards of organizational work, and the inability to combine economic methods with enhanced executive discipline and responsibility. The RSFSR Council of Ministers demanded that RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, kray and oblast soviet executive committees, and the Moscow and Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committees analyze the activity of their subordinate enterprises, associations, and organizations and take measures to eliminate existing shortcomings and make good any lag in the fulfillment of plan and budget targets in order to ensure successful work during the 4th quarter of this year and the fulfillment of the year's plan and budget as a whole.

It was suggested that special attention be paid to questions associated with enhancing the people's prosperity.

Bearing in mind the extremely tense situation, the task was set of continuing work on improving the financial situation of enterprises and organizations by actively introducing economic methods of management, making strict savings in the expenditure of state funds, reducing unproductive expenditure and losses, eliminating loss-making production units, and intensifying the struggle against economic mismanagement and waste. RSFSR ministries and departments were instructed to take additional measures to boost industrial output growth rates, unconditionally fulfill state orders, and improve contractual discipline.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers sitting also examined questions concerning additional measures to supply medicines to the population and health care institutions in the RSFSR and to conduct an experiment in working out an economic management mechanism based on the principles of self-management and self-financing in Vologda Oblast.

Report on 20 Oct Council of Ministers Session

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[Report on 20 October Council of Ministers session in the Kremlin by L. Voznesenskiy with recorded portions by L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov; V.M. Serov, USSR State Construction Committee chairman; Y.K. Semenov, minister of power and electrification; Railways Minister N.S. Konarev; I.M. Golovkov, deputy chairman of the Moscow city executive council; V.M. Lushinev, first deputy minister of the fishing industry; Tehrekh, not further identified; and L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Excerpts] [Voznesenskiy] A session of the USSR Council of Ministers was held on 20 October in the government building's Oval Room in the Kremlin in Moscow. The apparently fairly traditional area of the country's economic development over the 9-month period of this year was examined. But the session was extremely animated and could not have been otherwise since, as Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov noted as he opened the session, the situation in the economy, particularly in the third quarter, has taken a sharp turn for the worse and in September there was a very serious drop in economic activity. The session lasted almost 8 hours and we will only be able to show you some excerpts from it. It began with a report by Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Voronin] The processes taking place in the economy and the social sphere are not at all straightforward and on occasion are even contradictory. On the one hand restructuring of production relations on the basis of the development of a variety of forms of socialist ownership

continues; the number of industrial enterprises working on a lease-hold system is increasing; there are progressive changes in organizational forms and methods of management at all levels of the economy; the prerequisites are being created for forming a socialist market; structural changes connected to the social reorientation of the economy are being strengthened; the trend for above-average growth in producing items for consumption is being consolidated—production of these has increased by 5 percent over the last 9 months while production of the means of production has increased by a mere 1.3 percent.

At the same time, it is not yet proving possible to overcome many negative processes that have appeared in the economy, while some of these are even becoming more aggravated. A reduction in the dynamism of the economy's development is under way. Gross national product for the past 9 months increased by a mere 3.6 percent against 5.7 percent last year. The growth rates for generated national income fell correspondingly from 4.7 percent to 2.4 percent. The main cause of this is the fall in rates in the material production sectors: in the Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry, Minister Filimonov, it fell by 2.5 percent and in the Ministry of the Coal Industry, Comrade Shchadov, by 2.3 percent.

Compared with the same period last year there has been a dramatic fall in the growth rate of industrial production in the Russian Federation, from 3.9 percent to 1.6 percent. In Georgia it has fallen from 3.3 to 1.3 percent, in Azerbaijan from 4.3 to 0.4 percent, in Lithuania from 6.0 to 3.7 percent, in Estonia from 2.9 to 0.5, while in Armenia industrial production for the same period was 11 percent down, not only, of course, as a result of the earthquake.

The state of affairs with regard to production efficiency indicators remains unsatisfactory. So far this year productivity of social labor has increased by only 2.2 percent, as compared to 5.2 last year. Profit growth has fallen from 9.9 percent to 6.4 percent, and the rate at which unit production costs and material expenditure are being reduced has fallen in all national-economic complexes. The most important thing is that this year we have not managed to stabilize the situation on the consumer market or to improve the state of money circulation. More and more shortages are arising; in most cities there are disruptions in retailing many goods, even those for which there is mass demand. The growth of the money supply in circulation has reinforced inflationary tendencies. The development of the national economy is being increasingly affected by the new and complex processes taking place in the country's economic and social life.

The point is that the development of enterprises' independence, alongside the positive results, has also given rise to adverse side effects, such as a fall in discipline and responsibility, group selfishness and the setting-off of public against group interests. In many cases labor collectives are ignoring the regulations of article 1 of the law on enterprises which say that the main task of an enterprise is the utmost satisfaction of the national economy's social needs and the citizens' needs for the products manufactured by the enterprises.

Disregard for these major requirements, the unilateral severance of existing economic ties and the fall in responsibility for fulfilling contractual obligations are all compounding the imbalance in the national economy, causing a chain of difficulties in material and technical supply, and making the already tough economic situation worse. Over the first 9 months of this year there was a shortfall in contractual delivery of output in the national economy of R7.2 billion. I ask you comrades, how can there be any question of normalizing material and technical supply if many enterprises are making an ever increasing contribution toward its disorganization by failing to fulfil delivery contracts? Nor, comrades, can one fail to take account of the growth pains of the new economic mechanism, the uncomprehensive approach being taken toward implementing it, and the unpreparedness and inability of many leaders, and also collectives, to work in the new management conditions. The already difficult economic situation has been considerably worsened by the strike movements resulting from the burden of yesterday's unresolved problems.

I will mention just a few figures. This year direct losses of output because of strikes have come to almost R1 billion, and if one includes losses in subcontracting enterprises they are estimated at over R3 billion. These are overall figures; here are some specific examples. In Azerbaijan over the first few days of September the following were lost due to mass strikes: 3 million square meters of cotton fabric, around 1 million pairs of hosiery items, R7 million worth of sewn garments, and more than 7,000 refrigerators. This is a list that could be continued. Can you sense what a burden this is on our economy?

It was the massive nature of the September strikes that caused a dramatic drop in the rate of economic growth. Suffice it to say that in the current 5-year period industry has virtually never experienced such low growth as in September—0.3 percent—with the exception of January and February 1987 when, as you recall, we had blizzards, snowdrifts, and cold weather.

Against the backdrop of the strike movement, labor discipline is deteriorating. In the January-September period 34,000 people were absent due to strikes each day, while in September itself more than 100,000 were absent each day. [figures as heard] In Moldavia and Georgia alone, more than 1.3 million man-days were lost through strikes in September, and in Azerbaijan it was more than 1 million man-days. I would ask you, comrades, to reflect on these figures. Over the 9 months in the country as a whole, taking working time available into account, there was a R15 billion shortfall in the production of consumer goods, including R9.4 billion worth of food and R4.6 billion worth of non-food goods. Retail organizations received R3.2 billion worth industry output less than planned.

[Voznesenskiy] The shortfall in the delivery to retail outlets of such products as knitwear, stockings, socks, and leather footwear amounts to many tens of millions of items, and the value of state orders for consumer goods this year not accepted by a number of republics runs into hundreds of millions of rubles. This is 2 months before the end of the year no less. In the Russian Federation the figure comes to R1.300 billion.

Things are no better in some of the ministries. In the machine-building complex around R700 million worth of state orders for the manufacture of consumer goods still have to be placed. Over the 9-month period the enterprises of the Ministry of Automative and Agricultural Machine Building incurred a shortfall of almost R1 billion worth of consumer goods deliveries.

[Voronin] Particular concern is aroused by the fact that for some types of equipment the drop in production volumes in this complex has begun to turn into a steady trend. Machine-building should become the basis for accelerating scientific and technical progress in the national economy, but instead it is now virtually imposing limits on all the industries of the national economy. Machine-builders are behind in their deliveries to practically every industry and—something that is particularly intolerable—to industries that ensure the stable functioning of the entire national-economic complex, such as power engineering and transport. Over the 9-months the complex fulfilled its plans for only 56.4 percent of state order items: targets were not met—for 68 out of 156 types of equipment.

[Ryzkhov] Lev Alekseyevich, how is it these factories survive? Has anybody gotten to the bottom of this secret? How is it possible to thrive while fulfilling only 50-60 percent of state orders? Or is it some great mystery?

How do they meet their profit targets?

[Voronin] It is characteristic that unlike, say, the fuel and raw material industries, it is the machine-building industry in which flare-ups of group interests, the desire to put one's affairs in order at the consumers' expense, and to foist crushing output delivery terms upon them with regard to prices and other parameters are met with most frequently.

[Voznesenskiy] In the national economy as a whole there has been a shortfall to the tune of R5.2 billion in concluding contracts for the delivery of non-food consumer goods this year, 1989. The report named republics, committees, ministries, enterprises, and leaders responsible for tackling these issues, and it was proposed that penalties be imposed against particularly outstanding, in quotes of course, violations of state plan discipline.

[Voronin] Another serious shortcoming in the functioning of the economy over the 9 months, comrades, was the fact that, regrettably, we have failed to secure positive developments in supplying the population with food. In the third quarter the target volumes for the delivery of market stocks from state resources of meat and meat products were not met by Belorussia—it is even an embarrassment to mention that republic—Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, and Tajikistan. What do you think the shortfalls were? Between 5 and 13 percent. Where on earth are we to get meat for the population if these republics are not fulfilling and have not fulfilled delivery plans? Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Lithuania, and Latvia failed to meet their targets for the delivery of dairy produce to union stocks. The situation is similar with regard to fulfilling market delivery plans for fish products, vegetable oil, margarine, and confectionary.

[Voznesenskiy] There are good examples too, of course. In Belgorod Oblast, the speaker mentioned, sales of meat products increased by 2 percent and of dairy produce by 11 percent over the 9 months, while in Orel Oblast the figures were 15 and 17 percent respectively. In Penza and other industrial centers in that Oblast meat, poultry, and dairy products are freely available. Unfortunately, the speaker was then obliged to return once again to cases that give no cause for joy or even just satisfaction.

[Voronin] Comrades, an intolerable situation is developing with regard to supplying our population with potatoes, fruit, and vegetables. The potato harvest we are getting this year is no less than for 1988, but at the same time over the 9 months there was a shortfall of R2.1 billion worth of potatoes, fruit, and vegetables received by the retail sector. In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, for instance, this year's harvest was 3 million tonnes bigger than last year's, but the present situation is that fewer potatoes have been procured so far than last year. Further, a mere 36 percent has been delivered to all-union stocks. The only explanation I have for this is that various leaders of ours have, well, lost their sense of responsibility for the tackling of such serious matters.

[Ryzhkov] Lev Alekseyevich, tell the members of the Council of Ministers that we are forced to buy potatoes for Russia from Poland and the GDR. Poland and the GDR are beginning to feed Russia with potatoes. Do we realize what we are doing or not?

[Voronin] A very serious situation is developing with regard to the formation of state grain resources. Just think about it, comrades: the gross grain harvest this year will be 14-15 million tonnes more than we had last year, yet grain deliveries to the centralized stock are going much less well than last year. The farms of Belorussia and Latvia alone have fulfilled their state grain orders. Literally every republic is raising the question of additional allocations of grain forage from state resources. Where is central government to find these grain forage allocations with such an attitude toward fulfilling state grain orders?

[Voznesenskiy] Further on, the conversation continued with speeding up the resolution of the problem of processing and storing agricultural products, and in particular, the disgraceful—I don't think there is any need to look for another word—attitude to the usage of the machinery that has been purchased abroad and paid for in hard currency, which we need so much to buy medicines, consumer goods, and other things. From numerous facts of a similar type, the speaker gave two examples. We have bought 20 units for margarine production from Sweden, Britain, and the FRG; all those directly interested in it declared that in 1989 there will be margarine. Today not a single unit is working. It is much the same with equipment purcahsed for long macaroni production.

The discussion about the situation in capital construction was also difficult and complex: bringing fixed assets and production capacities into action has worsened, and uncompleted work by 1 October has grown by R26 billion in comparison with last year. The schedules for completing construction of many very important production capacities and projects were upset. Besides this, the speaker stressed, the construction complex has recieved profits of R1.8 billion more than last year.

Comrades, the obvious conclusion is that the councils of ministers of the union republics are not dealing with the questions of capital construction deeply and seriously, and today those are their questions. Especially disturbing is the fact that bringing projects into service in every sphere—production, nonproduction, social—is under threat of disruption today. Nikolay Ivanovich, out of 369 of the most important construction sites due to be commissioned this year the fixed volume of the building and installation work for 9 months has been met only on 118 of them. That is practically one-third. I don't understand the chairmen of the councils of ministers of the union republics of Central Asia, because for you bringing capacities into action is not just a question of production, but a social and political question, if you take into consideration the surplus of the work force in your region.

Many of you, probably, have seen PRAVDA today. On the first page one of the Moscow stations is shown. What is happening there? What quantities of goods at the railway warehouses! It has not been shown how many cars are also standing there with freight. They are not being unloaded. All the warehouses are full. The freight is not being taken out. This is not Moscow alone, this also concerns Leningrad, and many other republics. If none of us take measures on this issue, of course, it will be very difficult for the railway to straighten out the situation.

[Ryzhkov] Lev Alekseyevich, this is not the first article on Moscow in PRAVDA. I understand that a war has begun between PRAVDA and the Moscow city soviet, and evidently the government should interfere. After all, if it acquires a chronic character, let us interfere.

[Voronin] Nikolay Ivanovich, we have already intervened. I have convened the Moscow city soviet and the railway three times in my office, I have convened everyone. The Moscow city party committee approached us and said, Lev Alekseyevich, don't interfere in this. We have taken this in hand at the city committee, and we will cope. There are representatives of the Moscow city soviet here, and I hope that they will tell us how they intend to rectify the situation.

[Ryzhkov] Judging by the reply published in PRAVDA today, I think that they have not understood anything. It was signed by the deputy chairman of Moscow city soviet. They haven't understood anything. It seems to me that it is just a formal bureaucratic reply. People are under severe strain. Medicines are lying in the warehouses, goods are lying in the warehouses, there are no medicines in the pharmacies. No measures are being taken all the while. These are the sort of formal replies that are given. Evidently proposals have to be tabled today, things have to be coordinated with Moscow and someone has to be called to account. What is the point of trying to coax people? Or because Moscow is so close, does it mean it is untouchable?

[Voronin] Not only is it not, it no doubt has to be touched, you are quite right.

[Voznesenskiy] A report on the country's scientific and technical development was sharply critical. State orders for the supply of fundamentally new types of equipment and materials, for instance, were only met to the tune of 2 percent by the beginning of October. Such a figure is simply depressing. In the new conditions, when the organizational structures of management are being reshaped, the management of scientific and technical progress is becoming a most important function of ministries. In conclusion, Lev Alekseyevich Voronin dealt with the no less burning issues of the ecology and the country's preparation for the forthcoming winter. According to long-term forecasts, it promises to be severe. The report set the tasks of raising the level of all economic activity to complete the year successfully.

[Voronin] The government of this counry is convinced that all the conditions exist today and that all the necessary preconditions have been created to break the negative tendencies, stabilize the economy, and start consistent headway along the chief, pi al directions. Why is there such confidence, and what do we have to do to achieve this, comrades? All the experience of recent months shows that the main thing today is to consolidate forces at all levels of management. The well-being of individual labor collectives, industries, and regions cannot be achieved on the basis of setting their interests at odds with the interests of society as a whole. Only the orderly and effective work of every collective and every manager and worker can lead us out of the breakdown in our economy.

[Voznesenskiy] The next speaker was USSR Finance Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov. He noted that the

budget has reacted sharply to the negative processes that have of late been occurring in the national economy. After considering the prinicipal aspects of the country's financial state and its continuing deterioration, the minister made a number of constructive proposals.

[Pavlov] It is evident that the problem of eliminating the budget deficit and the complete financing of the spending provided for in the plan and budget can only be resolved through the strictest austerity regime in spending budget resources and adopting what must in essence be extraordinary measures. What, in our view, ought to be done? We propose that all the budget allocations not used over the first 9 months, including allocations for social and cultural institutions, derived from the nonexpansion of the network, and also other spending, be foreclosed, and the right to spend them withdrawn. Since, as I reported, for the majority of ministries and departments budget obligations are not being met as far as payments from profits are concerned, the financing of these departments, from the budget should be offset against unmet payment obligations: financing should be reduced when payment obligations fail to be met. Take the chemicals and timber complex. In the first 6 months, it undermet its obigations to us by R300 million. At the same time it put an additional above-plan R70 million into its own centralized ministry fund.

[Ryzhkov] So these R300 million should be taken out of the budget, and let them finance themselves.

[Pavlov] That is what I propose we do, Nikolay Ivanovich. In addition, we would ask that in the fourth quarter, and perhaps for the whole of next year, a minimum level of budget contributions be set at 30 percent.

[Ryzhkov] I think you ought to explain your proposal.

[Pavlov] Nikolay Ivanovich, we have many enterprises and organizations for which the ministries, when setting norms for payments into the budget, have either set none at all or else set them at minimal levels. Now these enterprises, while successfully fulfilling their plans and obtaining profits, are making no contribution to the budget, that is, in effect, taking no part...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] But don't the ministers see this? Don't they know? Or is everyone perfectly happy with it?

[Pavlov] Therefore, we believe that all enterprises and organizations should provide a portion of their income to cover state needs. We cannot have a situation in which one is serving the needs of the state and country as a whole, while another is merely consuming resources. In addition, we believe it essential to fulfil the requirements of the law on the state enterprise and to bind all the ministers, now and immediately, to put the norms for setting wage funds in order. Under the law there can be no norms greater than 100 percent. To a large extent this will restrain the growth of wage expenditure on the one hand, and make it possible to increase accumulation within the business, and on the other, it will be an objective factor in restraining the inflationary trends in the growth of the population's money income.

[Ryzhkov] Given the current financial situation, do we need to continue into 1990 the practice of leaving 70 percent of above-plan profit to the enterprises? Or should we, after all, perhaps return to our original position?

[Pavlov] Nikolay Ivanovich, from the point of view of our present situation it would actually be correct to abolish all the special norms, so to speak, for the distribution of individual types of income and apply common income distribution norms.

[Voznesenskiy] Finally, the third report was delivered by Valeriy Mikhaylovich Serov, chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee. He emphasized that in the sphere of capital construction primary importance falls to the creation of social facilities—housing, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, cinemas, and indeed everything that creates the necessary conditions for people's lives. The speaker noted that it is the state of affairs in this sphere that is making the decisive impact on the dynamics of the economy's social reorientation.

[Serov] It is here, and perhaps here above all, that until recently we have had stable and positive results. This is why the results of the work on commissioning housing and social facilities for the first 9 months of this should be regarded not just as nonfulfillment of plan tasks, but above all as a serious deviation from the perestroyka strategy. Everyone knows that the 1989 construction plan for housing and the social sphere was compiled from below, and that the republics had the opportunity to influence both the process of plan formation and its execution. This work was not always properly organized, however, and here's the result: over the first 9 months of this year the pace of commissioning of these facilities was substatially lower than what was achieved last year. An analysis has shown that in a number of republics and in the localities management of construction of social amenities has been lost. Decentralization of management and granting independence to the republics and localities have led to a situation where the bulk of commissioning of social amenities, already at the stage of the plan, has shifted to the right, and a lack of rhythm was thereby artifically set up in their commissioning.

Previously, everyone blamed rhythm imbalance on the center, which required as a minmum 40 percent of housing commissioning to be made in the first half of the year. Now the democratic principles of management often are transformed into lack of control over construction production. Far from everyone has understood as yet that construction of social amenities is a rigid conveyor with hundreds of interwoven links. If this conveyor gets out of balance even for a month, then, with such quantities of commissioning, it will be very difficult to adjust it, and at times, even impossible. A loss of rhythm in construction of social amenities does not only mean lost apartments, places in kindergartens, schools,

and hospitals. A loss of rhythm is primarily seen in the low quality of construction, which has become for us, it has to be said without exaggeration, a national disaster. Checks conducted by the organs of state construction monitoring under the USSR State Construction Committee have shown that at 22 percent of monitored facilities, there are defects of a critical nature, that is, which do no ensure the strength and durability of the buildings; and at 56 percent—just think about it—defects of a substantial nature which reduce the strength and utilization of the buildings. The most unfavorable situation with quality of execution of construction and assembly work has arisen in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and Kirghizia, where defects of a critical nature have been exposed at 33 percent and 25 percent of monitored facilities respectively. At 36 percent of monitored facilities erected by subdivisions of the ministry of eastern construction of the Russian Federation, breaches have been uncovered in carrying out constructive, antiseismic measures. The bitter experience of Armenia, unfortunately, has taught nothing to many people.

Nikolay Ivanovich, I have only taken the smallest part of the (?records) our commission is citing. Just look how we are building social and cultural amenities in seismic regions. I think that we are ourselves creating a time bomb today, which can blow up and lead to consequences much more serious than in Armenia.

[Voznesenskiy] The speaker voiced his view on the need to radically restructure the current system for monitoring the quality of construction work and to introduce order into the material and technical provision of construction projects, as, in his words, direct links have become transformed into extortion and commodity deals.

[Serov] In the conditions which have evolved, methods of administration by injunction—with threats of reprimands and sacking, and demands for the year's plan to be fulfilled at any cost, as was the case before—will not work. We know what this will lead to: To cooking the books, and to handling over projects incomplete, and consequently to indignation on the part of the working people and a flood of complaints to the center. I think we must proceed in a more simple way, openly, with glasnost, through the mass information media; we should warn local leaders that in the rayons where there appears to be no possibility or desire to build, and where commissioning for this year is not being ensured that it will be necessary to amend the tasks for 1990 and cut resources by the same amount, allocating them to rayons and territories where they will be used productively.

Careful preparation should now be started everywhere to transfer construction organizations to account for finished building production and turnkey construction of housing and other amenities.

[Ryzhkov] Tell me, will this be in effect beginning 1 January, or will this be another campaign call of some sort? We set the task of implementing payment for construction for a finished product beginning 1 January. Will this happen or not? Or will we once again have construction and assembly projects?

[Serov] It will indeed happen.

[Vuznesenskiy] Heads of ministries and departments of the union republics go to the rostrum one after another. Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers is replaced at the rostrum by Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorontsov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Protection, and then by Yuriy Kuzmich Semenov, USSR minister of power and electrification. He related, inter alia, that a multitude of protests against construction of virtually all electric power stations, both atomic, hydroelectric, and thermal stations, has already piled up in his ministry. Everyone wants, and is prepared to obtain power from other oblasts or republics. But no one wants to generate it.

[Semenov] The Georgian Council of Ministers adopted an independent decision to halt construction of the Khudoni Hydroelectric Power Station: We withdrew the money. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Republic itself adopted a decision to reduce the capacity of the Kaisiadorys pumped storage station from 1,200 to 400 megawatts, to two machines. They do not allow any more to be generated there.

[Ryzhkov] Where does the electricity come from? Why do you feed electricity there?

[Semenov] The Kazakhstan ministry stopped financing the Yuzhno-Kazakhstanskaya station, withdrew finance from the first Ekibastuz-2 set, and halted all construction. The Tatar Council of Ministers adopted a decision the day before yesterday to mothball the Tatarskaya Nuclear Electric Power Station, and gave instructions to banks to advance 5 million [figure only as heard] for mothballing work.

[Ryzhkov] Hold on a minute: Does it give commands to the banks?

[Semenov] Yes, it does.

[Ryzhkov] Yuriy Kuzmich, you have analyzed the state of affairs regarding the development of power engineering, namely that if this sort of development continues—when I say development here it should be in inverted commas, we are not engaged in any kind of development of power engineering at all at the moment—in which year will we have a large deficit in the country?

[Semenov] Yes, Nikolay Ivanovich, by 1995 we will find ourselves in a difficult position. In order to ensure uniform development of the national economy, we should, on average, commission 8 - 10 million kilowatts per annum. That is, even over the 13th 5-year period we should commission about 60 million kilowatts just to ensure that. Given the conditions we have currently, however, in the 13th 5-year period we will be unable to

commission more than 40 - 42 million: That is, even in the 13th 5-year period we will be unable to commission something in the region of 15 - 20 million. And in 1995 it will be virtually impossible for us to supply the national economy. Not everyone in the Council of Ministers understands this, in the republics, and everyone thinks that...[pauses] for example, [word indistinct] in Bashkiriya yesterday, I tried to prove to them that Bashkiriya consumes 35 billion kw, while itself only generating 32. Thus it already takes 3 billion from elsewhere. In 1995 there will be a deficit of 10 billion, and in the year 2000, 20 billion will have to be taken from elsewhere. They are categorically...[pauses] incidentally, the voted [words indistinct], there was a public conference, and they voted to halt construction of the Bashkirskaya power station.

[Ryzhkov] Do they not understand that they will end up without electricity? Or will they later be able to shout that someone is failing to feed electricity. Do these oblasts and republics understand, or not? No!

[Voznesenskiy] The floor was given to comrade Karamanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR; and then to Nikolay Semenovich Konarev, USSR minister of railways.

[Konarev] First and foremost I will acknowledge the correctness of the criticisms of the work of railway transport which were uttered in the report by Lev Alekseyevich Voronin and in addresses by other comrades. At a collegium yesterday the ministry heard explanations from nine heads of railways, and very strict decisions were made, as far as representations to the Council of Ministers regarding the unsuitability of two comrades for the posts they occupy. At the same time, however, I would make the proviso that the railway heads described in their explanations an extremely difficult picture at the local level. One cannot deny the fact that this year the work of railway transport has been seriously complicated by a whole series of negative phenomena. This was mentioned in part in the report. I do think—and there is some point in stressing this once again—that for resolution of any issues, both political, interethnic, and regional and even in the case of language—just as in Moldavia, the issue was raised—in order to resolve the issue of language, the trains have to be stopped. That is criminal, it is impermissible, and I consider we must rebuff these phenomena, because these phenomena work against the union as a whole, and against every republic.

I must report to the government that the Ministry of Railways is currently preparing documentation for bringing criminal charges against those persons and organizations whose actions led to paralysis of the work of the railways in Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Abkhaziya, Estonia, and elsewhere. This, in addition to other shortcoming in work hit the results of the work of the third quarter very hard indeed. We ended the first half year with an excess of R21 million. Today Lev Alekseyevich reports terrible figures. I will tell you that the railways' direct losses from loss of loading facilities due to the aforementioned misdemeanors have led to a loss of revenue and an increase in expenditure on transport amounting to several billion rubles. And the losses to the national economy, according to our own calculations, amount to no less than 1.2 billion. So far nobody has been punished for this. And I reckon that—if, as I hope, comrades from the Ministry of Justice and the procurator's office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs will back me here—this question should be properly formulated and put point-blank, to teach people not to do such things again. In one place someone or other fired a shot to stop a train; somewhere else some one put something across the rails to stop the trains. What sort of lack of discipline is that?

Deterioriation in the work of the railways is to a considerable degree linked to a lessening of responsibility for unloading of freight cars and failure to remove freight and containers from freight yards and container yards on schedule. This process can, in effect, be observed in every republic, throughout all the ministries, departments, towns, and oblasts. And, therefore, I want to address the chairman of the council of Ministers and heads of ministries: There is still time. Just look at what is happening in transport yards and what is happening in sidings, what is happening with all means of transport. Because everything will suddenly change as soon as the temperature falls.

[Ryzhkov] Nikolay Semenovich, how many trains have now been stranded throughout the country?

[Konarev] Seven hundred and twenty-three.

[Ryzhkov] And how many in the Transcaucasus?

[Semenov] In total, in the Transcaucasus, on the approaches, we have set out trains right as far as Belorussia, we have no reserves of throughput capacity, and we have used them up bit by bit. In total, that is, there are 312 trains in this region.

[Ryzhkov] For the Transcaucasus, that is, and in total, rather more than 700?

[Semenov] Seven hundred and twenty-three. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] This issue needs working on, let us give instructions for this to be done and for the issue to be carefully studied.

[Voznesenskiy] The discussion on the attitude to transport, or more accurately, on the problems connected with it, was continued when Igor Mikhaylovich Golovkov, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Executive Council, took the floor.

[Golovkov] Nikolay Ivanovich, I do not deal directly with transport issues, but I took the figures, as I was on my way here, on the state of affairs to date, and these are sharply at variance with the figures published today in the newspaper. [Passage omitted: Angry interjection by

Konarev from the floor on the failure of the Moscow authorities to unload meat cars]

[Golovkov] According to the norm, Nikolay Ivanovich, 17,500 tonnes have been set as the amount that should, or rather, may, stand at stations. To date, I have been informed, 17,075 tonnes are waiting. [Passage omitted: Golovkov elaborates on numbers of freight cars and containers awaiting handling]

[Ryzhkov] My view is this, we shall not come to an agreement on anything. You deny everything, that is evidently Moscow's style and method—to deny everything! Everything is done well in Moscow, and everything that people see there, and show on television, and everything the newspapers write, you think it is all wrong. So let's give instructions and ask the USSR People's Control Committee, the Party Control Commission, let's get them to sort things out with you through party channels. We shall no longer put up with this from Moscow, you must set an example for the whole country, yet you set an example through every issue of PRAVDA and have had a clash with the newspaper, instead of, [Ryzhkov changes thought] perhaps asking the newspaper, instead of turning to the press to inspire the people in some way to resolve these problems. And here you are starting to play with arithmetic, saying that here we have 400 wagons, while the ones messing about on the track 50 km away are not ours. Of course it is yours! We are even getting information that when students or someone comes, either on a payment basis, or when they have been mobilized to unload wagons, there is a certain group of people which comes up and says Go away! Go away while you're still alive! While you're still in one piece! What on earth is happening there in Moscow? Is it to someone's advantage to do all this? Why don't you sort it out? Why don't you sort out these matters? Why don't you make principled assessments, party and state assessments? Can you really not see that there is someone controlling you, and that it is not you who are in control there? And then we rouse the people, just look, you see, people everywhere are saying that there is nothing in the shops, there are lines all over the place. Comrades, what are we doing? [Passage omitted in which Yuriy Mikhailovich Volmer, USSR Minister of the Maritime Fleet, reports on the state of unloading containers; USSR Minister Lyudmila Yelmatovna Davletova, chairman of the State Commission for Light Industry under the USSR State Planning Committee; speaks of the need to organize third shift work conditions; Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Military Industrial Commission, is reported to have commented on conversion of defense products to consumer goods]

[Voznesenskiy] There was a difficult conversation for Vitaliy Mikhailovich Lushnikov, first deputy USSR Minister of the fish industry. After all, a shortage of fish products is felt in many areas of the country.

[Ryzhkov] Stop there, please. You are not saying quite the right thing. Tell us how much of your produce you have failed to deliver to the market over the last 9 months.

[Lushnikov] Nikolay Ivanovich, the state order...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] But first, how much have you not delivered? Can you give me a precise answer, if you know? If you do not know, sit down.

[Lushnikov] Yes, I know, Nikolay Ivanovich.

[Ryzhkov] How much have you failed to provide?

[Lushnikov] Taking into account resolution No. 990, which stipulates that the Ministry of the Fish Industry shall, in addition to the state order, deliver another 600,000 tonnes of fish and 100,000 tonnes of sardines, we have failed to deliver 337,000 tonnes.

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] You have failed to deliver 700,000 tonnes. You have failed to deliver 700,000 tonnes of fish to Comrade Terekh. [murmuring in auditorium] That is what you are up to and you start telling us fairy tales here. Tell us this. Answer this question.

[Lushnikov] Nikolay Ivanovich...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] We got you up especially to get an explanation. What is going on? What is happening in the fishing industry?

[Lushnikov] Well, what is going on...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Comrade Terekh, how much has the fish industry failed to deliver?

[Terekh] Five hundred thirty seven, 538,000 tonnes of fish, 199 million nominal tins of canned fish, and 85,000 tonnes of herring. Altogether it amounts to 700,000 tonnes. And the counting is strange. He is counting the state order. And the fact that he has not included the figure for contracts so far, that we have been talking about for a year, [words indistinct].

[Lushnikov] I think that the second time...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Hang on. You can say that later. You have failed to deliver 700,000 tonnes of fish products to the market. How much has been licensed for sale abroad?

[Lushnikov] We have sent 432,000 tonnes of fish products for sale abroad.

[Ryzhkov] So, you have allowed 430,000 tonnes to go abroad. Is that above plan?

[Lushnikov] Oh yes.

[Ryzhkov] And you have failed to give your own market 700,000 tonnes. Tell me what our attitude to you should be. We cannot tolerate this from you any longer. I do understand that there are difficulties in the country but what you are doing in the fish industry cannot even be

evaluated. For 6 months, you were in revolt: cables were coming in from all the ships. How much have we done for the fish industry? We have increased hard currency allocations. Money for night duty has been provided, and so on. Instead of actually mobilizing to solve the matter, your work is getting worse and worse. [Passage omitted in which Mikhail Vasiliyevich Kovalev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussia Soviet Socialist Republic, points out the failure of enterprises to deliver goods on orders from the State Planning Committee or the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply; Nikolay Mikhailovich Olshanskiy, chairman of the State Agro-chemical Association speaks of reluctance to have mineral fertiliser production close at hand; other speakers are listed]

[Voznesenkiy] Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission of the Council of Ministers on Economic Reform, then took the floor.

[Abalkin] We need precise and decisive measures in three directions, about which I will speak. First of all, many of our problems are connected with more general causes, with the sharp aggravation of the financial situation in the country, with the surplus oversaturation with money, both cash and non-cash. I think that we need to return right to the initial questions that were raised in the report by the finance minister and to support a whole series of its proposals. The area of allocations from the budget needs to be regulated, and all shortfalls on payment to the budget from industries, complexes and, possibly, republics, should be compensated through a reduction in financing from the state budget. [Passage omitted in which Abalkin speaks about the need for measures to regulate wage funds, and the transfer of scientific establishments to the new principles of management]

I think that a number of serious questions have accumulated and will continue to grow, which pertain to the problems of relationships not only between complexes, but also between union republics and regions. At least three major problems have emerged today: total irresponsibility with regard to suppling foodstuffs to the union fund; the unwilling..ss to develop one's own power engineering and, thus, living at the expense of other regions; and the same with mineral fertilizers. This question has to be resolved in a sufficiently large-scale manner and we now have the opportunity—while it is still not too late—to draw up and envisage an appropriate mechanism of cooperation, of exchange between republics, and payment for corresponding resources, having stipulated this in the laws that are now being prepared and will be discussed on transferring the republics to self-management and self-financing, and on local economic management and local administration. And, most important, we should not forget that exactly one week ago, in this hall, we adopted a plan for the elaboration of a state-wide program for the financial improvement of the economy, for the socioeconomic development for the 13th 5-year plan. We agreed that this program should be not simply a narrow program of the government, but should reflect the entire experience of the union republics, all ministries and involving also science, and, informal movements, as we called them. Let us thoroughly work on all these ideas and include them and determine the prospects in this respect. [Passage omitted in which Abalkin calls for people guilty of negligence in the economy to be made personally responsible]

Someone must be held responsible for the shortcomings; there must always, everywhere, be personal accountability. We should, I think, take a further step in this direction. It is not just a matter of punishing senior ministry staff. There is increasing evidence of a feature that clearly needs to be professionally analyzed, connected with the fact that all this is to someone's advantage: someone is speculating on these technical messes. I am referring here not only to some political ambitions that arise in connection with this, and that are angled toward seeing that the worse things are in the national economy, the more seriously this will affect people's lives, and therefore the better it is for certain forces, but also to the fact that what is happening here, perhaps, is a complex and complicated union between staff of local bodies of power, the trading network, and the black market, who are all making a fortune out of these difficulties in the national economy. These problems have been mentioned here—problems with unloading, warehousing, and losses, and so on. Effective actions by the law enforcement organs are required, including holding show trials within the framework of the law. The innocent should be left alone, but we must show that we are expressing both the will of the people in these issues and that we are displaying decisiveness in the fight against any actions directed toward destabilizing society, and against attempts to gamble with the destiny of millions of people.

The third group of problems that should also be clear here and that demand specific measures is this: We have embarked on a course of democratization and decentralization, and we have handed over a huge number of matters, including providing the market with consumer goods and developing the social sphere and the agro-industrial complex, to local bodies, and we have naturally weakened the system of centralized control. This is normal, we cannot win back what has been lost. The absence of control of the directive and administrative aspects from above must be replaced by control by the masses. We must know who is responsible for what, in the final analysis.

Who is responsible for the fact that these unloaded cars of food and imported consumer goods are standing there, while store shelves are empty? We should not look for who should unload all that in Moscow, Leningrad, and Novosibirsk, that is the function of the local soviet. If they want to hire students, fire-fighting crews, or senior citizens to unload the cars, that is their business

and their direct responsibility, and they should be called to account on this in full measure in 3 or 4 months at the local soviet elections.

Measures should work toward this, I think. We must only make a decision on this and really put this unloading to rights by transferring resources. If cars with food products allocated to any city are not unloaded within 3 months, the food products should be removed from the allocation of that city and transferred to another one; and car that is just sitting should be paid for from the wages fund. Pretty vigorous measures are needed on the entire package of measures, because we will not forgive lack of action, half-measures, and lack of firmness and political will in resolving such matters.

[Voznesenskiy] Then Nikolay Ivanovich Yefimov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on the Press, and Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers bureau for machine-building, were given the floor.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered the concluding speech at the session. He said, inter alia:

[Ryzhkov] Today's discussion enables appropriate conclusions to be drawn, in my view, upon which to base our further work. We have, I think, in general really come to a certain brink beyond which we should not go. If you look at the rate of growth of the economy last year and even this year, the first 6 months and the third quarter, you can clearly trace that starting from the end of last year and also the beginning of this year, we have started to slide downwards. So, starting from October we either start going up, gathering a certain speed, producing output and resolving social issues, or we cross over the zero boundary and embark on minus results. This danger does exist, unless we take appropriate measures.

Evidently, it is difficult to say and make unambiguous conclusions about the reason we have been standing still. Economic reform is under way, it seems; it has been profoundly thought through. The right direction has been taken to give greater independence to enterprises and to place reliance on the primary level of the economy, to decentralize the economy to the maximum, and to give rights to union republics. There should, it would seem, be a great deal of activity, economic and management activity, and we expected there would be. We expected that people would earn money, people would improve their social problems at enterprises thanks to this, and resolve production matters.

Everything turned out quite the opposite. I think, therefore, that after today's session of the Council of Ministers we must think through a number of issues very seriously indeed. In my view, some of these issues have not been reflected in our documents on the economic reform. We quite simply failed to pick them up at the time and naively thought that they would develop in a positive vein. Today we see that many issues have not been fully elaborated.

Second, I think that a sort of adaption of enterprises has taken place. Whereas to start with the law on enterprise apparently compelled people to think, in the subsequent months and the subsequent quarters in my view, some enterprises were directing all their intentions on how to circumvent the law, how to adapt to the law with the maximum benefit to oneself. [sentence as heard] This process is, I think, passing.

Second [as heard], ministries have not found their feet in the new economic situation today, I think. We still have not adopted the decision on the situation in the ministries, and the main reason here is apparently that we still have not formulated our position on what ministries should do in this situation. This is, I think, the main issue in the scheme of managing the national economy today. We need to think very seriously about this. You understand, on the one hand the ministries lose their effective administration of enterprises, and on the other hand they fail to make use of the rights they have been granted to exert economic influence over enterprises. I am often amazed at how a minister can see that wages are rising, the production of output is inadequate, there are flagrant violations, bonuses can be paid from the development fund, and all sorts of extra payments can be paid out of the social amenities fund—these are violations of the law—and yet he regards all this quite calmly. Why does a minister not use his rights? In the case at issue this is a minister's right. This is in my view the second reason.

The third reason—which made itself felt very strongly in the third quarter, in my view—is the general instability in our society. It has become very difficult to work. As you can see, a wave of strikes has engulfed the country. There is continual whipping up of tension, a continual sort of blackmail, even, to a certain degree, along the lines of if you don't solve these issues, then we will go on strike, we will stop work, and so on. Can matters really be conducted in a state in such a way? No state has ever conducted things like that, nor ever will. Yes, a colossal number of problems have accumulated in our society. Yes, they must indeed be solved, but they must be solved in a way commensurate with what we have. For this, we must work better and more efficiently, and then we can solve the accumulated problems step by step.

When we work less and less well, and keep demanding more and more from society, some specific benefits for this or that social group of people, or for some specific regions, this is completely impermissible. Then, I think, we would come to a situation where things are worse than they were 2 years ago. That is, we will saturate the market with money again, we will give rise to spirals of inflation in the country, and all this will come full circle, in a vicious circle at that. Everyone will appear to get money, while at the same time there is nothing to buy with the money, or the real value of money will fall

systematically. We must, in the final analysis, explain to the people that it is not a boon but a misfortune for us to keep on this same path. Just look what is done in other countries where control of the economy is being lost. Inflation is rising tenfold—tenfold! Not 10 percent, but tenfold. If we proceed along that path, we will impose intolerable conditions upon our society.

So we must make a specific decision; we must finally explain to the people what is happening in our economy, what is happening in our country. I think, therefore that today's discussion should radically alter our entire attitude to the development of the national economy. Either we stand up and advance, or we continue marking time. I am convinced that we do have every opportunity to proceed more dynamically ahead. There are opportunities, we have the foundations we laid for the development of the economy. Today we need only make proper use of them; we must rectify them where necessary.

The first task confronting us today, I think, is the need to finish the year properly. Here both economic management methods, and evidently, administrative management methods are required. We cannot do without this at this transitional stage. If we place our hopes on economic methods of management alone—these as a rule are of an inertial nature—we will do nothing in the fourth quarter. We must put the situation right, first and foremost in the consumer market. As you know, we have made very big purchases abroad. Now goods are starting to come into the country, although we have been given a graphic demonstration here of the state of affairs regarding unloading, and so on. We must increase our own production, so as to make a real improvement in the consumer market in the fourth quarter.

First and foremost, we understand that today we evidently cannot promise the entire people that we will be able to fully saturate the consumer market with all goods. It is unrealistic to set the task, and unrealistic to promise it, but we are obliged to resolve the question of one group of prime consumer goods, so let's go ahead and resolve it. We have every opportunity. We, the union republics and the state commission, must take very urgent measures to correct the situation. Food is a subject of concern for us—we see no radical improvements today, and we must evidently admit this quite firmly and honestly, to ourselves.

In regard to construction, Comrade Serov has given a report today on construction of housing, kindergartens, and other social and cultural amenities. Comrades, we told the entire people that we do indeed have major difficulties in the economy and the national economy, but we turned toward social problems, and starting from 1986, we were indeed turning the entire economy. We considered that one of the positive aspects of economic perestroyka is that we have indeed made this sort of turn in the direction of housing, social, and cultural amenities, and so on. The statistics indicate that there have been such turns. However, this year is a subject of concern for us. Unless we now make decisions and unless we mobilize forces to cope with our targets, we really will land up in a worse position with regard to housing construction than we were last year.

Then the people will ask: What positive things have you actually done, in general? You said housing would be better and this year housing has become worse. The same applies to kindergartens, polyclinics, and hospitals. Therefore, I think today's examination of this issue should force each Council of Ministers' chairman to think very seriously and to work on this matter.

You know that today we do not have control, we are not engaging in the day to day leadership of construction but we are at least obliged to engage in this as we should.

If we are talking about construction as a whole, I would like to draw the particular attention of the chairmen of councils of ministers to this. We will pursue a firm line. I know there will be a lot of outcry but we will stand firm. From 1 January we are instructing, we have already issued the instruction to banks, and we will be very strict about asking bankers to pay only for finished installations. All the rest is under the credit system. Take on credit, do you calculations, and so on. When there is a finished installation there will be payment for a finished installation. I think our main difficulty right now is the fact that we cannot balance the consumer market. In the production of consumer goods and in providing and supplying services, we cannot keep pace with monetary incomes. For the country as a whole monetary income is 12.2 percent. A corresponding amount of goods is necessary to meet that. But we do not have them and we are hardly in any position to provide such a quantity of goods today. Therefore, we must investigate what is happening here. It is clear that an abnormal situation has arisen in this respect, and obviously, as a result of today's session, we must have a thorough rethink on certain matters. And in this respect I support the proposal of Comrade Pavlov and Comrade Abalkin that we should get down to it and investigate. I mean, decisions must be taken on certain significant matters.

In reality, we were being urged on all the time. We were urged to leave 70 percent of above plan profit for the enterprises because the enterprises were poor. Today it is the state that is poor. Today it is the state that cannot make ends meet. Just look at how much money the enterprises have in their accounts. There is R30 billion in their material incentive fund alone and that money could be released at any time into the market. Should we accept that or not?

The same thing started happening at the beginning of last year. What pressure there was on the state order—there were all sorts of little rhymes about it at the time. It reached a point where certain privileges began to be given for the state order. Nothing was working properly, but the money was flooding out. All channels through which money is being wasted must be looked at. Simply, there are breaches. That is what we were talking about today. Money is taken from the development fund and

they pay, let us say, material assistance. Or, money is taken out of social and cultural amenities or housing and channelled into the same thing, that is, wages and bonuses and so on. These are simply breaches and bankers are simply duty-bound to keep an eye on this sort of thing.

Therefore, I think we must make decisions. They will be harsh decisions, but I think we have to make them. We are in a position today where it is not possible for us to fail to make decisions or simply to avoid making them and just think about how to extricate ourselves. We must do it. If we see that it will help our cause we must make decisions. And in this instance I support the proposal to completely eliminate by next year this 70 percent or 30 percent which go to above plan profits, as well as similar measures on which we shall work for a few more days.

I am making a specific proposal. All our research and planning institutes have moved over to financial autonomy by decision of the Council of Ministers dated 30 September 1987, No 1102. I propose that institutes in the Gostroy system—and there are around 40 of these institutes—which have the highest rise in income and which does not correspond at all to their output, I propose suspending this decision and transfering them back to the old system. Let them work today as they worked earlier. When they mature, when a mechanism is really worked out properly which will allow them to work honestly, then we shall return to this matter. But for the moment let's suspend the operation of this decision for USSR Gosstroy institutes.

We have warned people. This is not the first time. If today was the first time then we could still say that we would shoot from the hip. We have warned people on the results of the first quarter. We have repeatedly warned Comrade Serov. Introduce order in the institutes. He is doing something but I think we must help him. Let's make this decision.

Well, we would like to warn all the other leaders of ministries and departments in the union republics. If, in the very near future, you do not introduce order in your institutes then there will be the same sort of goings on as in Gosstroy institutes, and we will make a decision on these institutes. We are giving you the right, the opportunity as they say, to assess the situation in a serious light and introduce order. If you do not introduce order then we wil examine it in the Presidium and make a decision, the same decision.

And I would like to inform the Council of Ministers that we have now started carrying out, if not active work, then at least we have started working on invstigating, analyzing, and adopting measures on economic infringements of the law. We will meet once every 2 weeks and analyze one area of the economy or another, and adopt very serious measures.

In our view, on the wave of difficulties which we are experiencing today, on the wave of the fact that we are working through all the economic mechanisms and all legal norms, today a very great deal of scum has appeared on the surface. It is a parasite here and it is causing displeasure on the part of the people and in some places has really merged together with criminal elements. They are using every imaginable dodge to get around our Soviet laws, to get around the law on the enterprise. When we hear reports about certain economic infringements of the law we sometimes marvel at how subtle it all is and that these people are simply geniuses.

I could cite dozens of examples of how they get around laws—including, incidentally, licences for exporting certain goods abroad. Therefore, we must take very serious measures and I would ask the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of union republics here present please to occupy themselves with this matter. We are not in a position to make it all come together from the center. You work directly in the localities. So the most painstaking work is needed there now. That does not mean that we must commit excesses on all sides. We must act within the law but we must act strictly. We must no longer allow things to get out of hand. Wherever people are breaking the law we must demand that the law must be observed.

And now for a few words about the future. You know that the plan and budget for 1990 is now before the Supreme Soviet for examination. It looks as if it will be examined at the end of the month in the Supreme Soviet. We must make very serious preparations for 1990, the year of the 28th party congress. We must approach the congress and, in general, put things right in 1990. I am opposed to any fine-sounding talk of turning points and crucial times and so on, but I am convinced that for us 1990 will be, if you like, a crucial time and a turning point. Either we will get on to our feet and proceed further or else we will find ourselves in a very grave situation. Because social tension is increasing, the dissatisfaction of the people is increasing, and at the same time you can see what is happening in the economy.

I think that today our talk has not been simple but complex. But I think that it is necessary talk. We had to say frankly what is going on in our country. I think that this will allow us to look in a different way at the whole situation which is taking shape in the country.

And the last question: Proposals have been put forward here concerning punishment. I think that we should make complaints against certain leaders. The people will not understand us. They will not understand why we talk a great deal and we do not ask anyone exactly what they mean. I am not in favor of wholesale sackings and punishments but obviously we cannot turn a blind eye to this and let people go unpunished.

Therefore, I am putting forward for the examination of the Council of Ministers the following proposal. Evidently I will repeat, Lev Alekseyevich, what you said.

Firstly, I propose removing Comrade Batarev, chief of the Volga region railway, for his completely unsatisfactory management of the work of that railway and for

systematic disruption of transportation of oil freight. That is the first thing. The second thing is that I consulted during the break with members of the Presidium and let me tell you frankly that, in general, we were of the opinion that we should release the first deputy minister of the fish industry. But Comrade Lushnikov has been in the post for less than a year. Therefore, we consulted and have come up with the following proposal: to severely reprimand Comrade Lushnikov, first deputy minister of the fish industry, and to reprimand Comrade Kotlyar, minister of the fish industry. He is not present but that does not matter. He will find out. He will be receiving a phone call and I think that Comrade Kotlyar should interrupt his leave and get back to work. But anyway, I am proposing that he should be reprimanded. That is no way, no way to manage an industry. We have talked to Comrade Kotlyar many times. We understood that he was still a comparatively new minister. We warned him. Nevertheless, you have seen what the position is. And the third thing is to reprimand Comrade Sochilin, deputy minister of the electrical equipment industry and instrument building. And finally, to reprimand Comrade Sidenko, deputy minister of railways, for allowing serious shortcomings.

So there are the administrative penalties which are being put forward for your examination. I would ask you-...please go ahead...

[Unidentified speaker from floor] Nikolay Ivanovich, the report here by Lev Alekseyevich, and other speeches, have noted the unsatisfactory work of several Councils of Ministers of union republics in producing consumer goods at enterprises under republican control, and the extremely unsatisfactory assimilation of capital investment. Therefore, I am putting forward a further additional proposal: to draw the attention of Comrade Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers, to the unsatisfactory work of enterprises under republican control producing consumer goods and the extremely low standard of fulfillment of the plan for capital investment in projects scheduled for commissioning in light industry.

[Ryzhkov] Let us discuss the first proposals which were made during discussion. There were four proposals. What is your opinion? Concerning drawing Comrade Chitanava's attention to the situation, what would you say?

[Unidentified speaker from floor] Not only him but the deputy chairman who has been handling this matter. Because, really, he has not been chairman for long.

[Ryzhkov] Perhaps we should restrict ourselves to discussion. That is, we gave him a verbal warning. He has only been working for a few months. Is it 3 months? That is right, only about 3 months. I think that even today's discussion will have an influence, as they say, on this comrade.

So, I wish you every success. Goodbye. [video shows those present leaving their seats]

KGB Holds 'Roundtables' in Sakhalin

PM0111120789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent N. Bratchikov report under the rubric "Top Secret": "In a Zone of Former Silence"]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—There had been plenty of time to ponder a very "ticklish" question: The "roundtables" held by the USSR KGB in Sakhalin were widely publicized in advance on television, and the meetings with chekists [familiar name for KGB operatives] "from Moscow" were announced on the radio, in the newspapers, and also directly in the labor collectives.

The halls were filled to capacity with seamen, fishermen, railroad and port workers, students, and journalists. A team of 17 staffers of the central apparatus of the USSR KGB proposed a fully open and frank dialogue. Introducing himself to the people of Sakhalin, Yu. Knyazev, who chaired the meetings, spoke about himself at the request of local party workers "to build up trust." He is a major general and deputy chief of the USSR KGB Inspectors Administration.

It is well known that the protective fences have been removed from many "zones of silence" over the years of perestroyka. And so there was a hail of questions—ranging from naive ones to ones that got down to the "nitty-gritty." What are the wages? What does perestroyka mean for KGB organs? Which most serious cases have been solved by the security service in Sakhalin over the past decade? The attitude toward B. Yeltsin, Yu. Vlasov, A. Sakharov? Was Yu. Andropov in favor of perestroyka processes in the country?

What was noteworthy? Sometimes the "roundtable" would deviate from discussing "secret" topics and move on to present-day problems of the country and the Far East. People would openly express their position, make suggestions, and name areas where the KGB might be of solid help: In transportation, where accidents have become more frequent, and in preventing ecological indiscipline on the part of economic planners. Can the following most disgraceful fact be of interest to KGB organs? In the space of a few years Sakhalin has lost one-third of a million square meters of salmon spawning grounds.

The audiences proved most active in Kholmsk and Korsakov—100 and more questions at each meeting. Probably "maritime" thoroughness... For example, on behalf of the crew of the diesel electric ship "Sakhalin-9" V. Dremin asked for detailed information on the espionage activity of certain Soviet seamen recruited by enemy special services.

What did the KGB team's meetings with the public of Sakhalin show?

"Their mutual usefulness!" A. Selikh, chairman of the Sakhalin KGB Administration, believes. "And we now intend to make more frequent visits to enterprises and

educational institutions locally, to speak about the state of the struggle against criminal elements and economic disorder."

I will add that close cooperation has already started up between Sakhalin chekists and the press—a "press group" has been set up under the KGB administration.

Transcaucasian Gas Pipeline Restarts Supply

LD3110211789 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Ordzhonikidze (North Caucasus) October 31 TASS—The Transcaucasia main gas pipeline restarted today to supply gas from western Siberia to Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan after extensive restoration work has been completed.

The accident occurred on the night of September 20, when a rupture in a 1,200-millimeter pipe in northern Osetia resulted in an explosion that ravaged an extensive adjacent area.

As by a miracle, no man was injured by the holocaust.

A state commission that looked into the causes of the disaster arrives at a conclusion that faulty metal had been used to manufacture pipes for the mainline at the Mariupol metallurgical plant.

The plant's equipment was largely outdated as was the faulty technology used in pipe production.

The main Transcaucasian pipeline has been fully restored and put in service.

Uzbek Police Granted 'Emergency Powers'

PM3110125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 89 Second Edition p3

[Viktor Artemenko "Own Correspondent's Column": "Tired of the Loudmouths"]

[Text] Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic—For several months now, the people of Tashkent and several other cities in Uzbekistan have known no peace. Unsanctioned rallies are constantly being held in the streets and squares. For example, contrary to a decision of the Tashkent City Soviet Executive Committee (gorispolkom) to regulate the holding of mass events on the central streets and squares of the republic's capital, so-called informal associations and groups gather crowds wherever they want, causing great inconvenience to citizens, hampering the work of transport and other services, and diverting considerable public order forces away from their immediate tasks.

Some 200 such demonstrations by citizens have been registered this year. Despite the fact that the republic's party and soviet bodies have resolved and are looking into important economic and cultural issues and the vital needs of the working people, the same old questions are still being demagogically repeated at these street meetings.

Unhealthy, sometimes slanderous statements are giving rise to perfectly understandable anger and outrage among the inhabitants and destabilizing the moral and political situation in collectives and places of residence. Categorical verbal attacks by irresponsible individuals at large gatherings of people lead to mass riots. Agents provocateurs visit collectives, urging people to be active in demonstrations and pasting up leaflets of a provocative nature. Even worse, slanderers whip up enmity and discord on ethnic grounds and spread provocative, panic-mongering rumors.

The situation has reached the point of outright hooliganism. A large group of informal association members recently used violence to break through a militia cordon and poured onto Tashkent's central square—V.I. Lenin Square. The demonstrators smashed street lamps, vandalized green areas, and wrought havoc with public transport. Around 100 militia personnel were hurt.

In extreme situations, the militia is forced to arrest the most aggressively minded initiators and organizers of illegal gatherings. In the space of just 1 day, more than 100 transgressors were taken to rayon internal affairs departments. A. Usmanov, UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA own correspondent for Uzbekistan; Sh. Dzhurayev, lecturer in philosophy at Tashkent Medical Institute; A. Rakhmanov, teacher at Boarding School No 102; and many other participants in illegal gatherings have been fined and sentenced to several days' imprisonment. People's courts have instituted criminal proceedings against M. Inoyatov, a lecturer at an institute of culture, and R. Iskanderov, a university student, who have particularly "distinguished themselves" during unsanctioned marches.

Nevertheless, people living in the republic believe that unlawful actions by informal associations are not given a proper rebuttal by soviet and law enforcement organs and that the full force of the law is not being used to put a stop to them. The republic's leading authorities are inundated with letters: People are demanding that those responsible for violating the public order be kept in check. At a recent session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, Deputies M. Khabibullayev, T. Turgunova, and R. Alimova asked questions about this.

The deputies' questions were unanimously supported by all the participants in the session, which instructed a special commission to investigate the situation. It painstakingly examined all statements by working people and reached the conclusion that order must be urgently instilled. The session approved an Uzbek Supreme Soviet resolution which outlines specific measures to stabilize the situation in the republic. Now internal affairs organ personnel have been given emergency powers to stop unlawful actions.

The Uzbek Supreme Soviet resolution has met with working people's approval throughout the republic. Meetings welcoming the new decision are being held everywhere in labor collectives. There is only one source of dissatisfaction among people: the question of why it has taken so long to adopt these measures.

"I met working people at the Tashkent Porcelain Factory," Republic Prosecutor D. Usatov, told me. "Our personnel have attended meetings at many enterprises in Uzbekistan. Labor collectives believe that the Supreme Soviet has acted correctly in taking the decision to stabilize the sociopolitical situation."

Two Sentenced to Death in Uzbekistan

LD3110153489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Fergana, 31 Oct (TASS)—The open trial of 12 active participants of mass disorder which occurred in Fergana Oblast in June ended in this Uzbek town today. They have been found guilty of the murder, in aggravating circumstances, of four Meskhetian Turks, of robbery, malicious hooliganism, and other crimes. The case was examined by the Legal Collegium for Criminal Affairs of the Uzbekistan Supreme Court.

In the verdict which was handed down today, the picture of the crime looks as follows: On the night of 4-5 June villagers of Surkhtepa Kishlak Araz Lyumanov and his wife Maynur, and Omar Lomanov and his son Suleyman, were fleeing from brigands by car. A chase was mounted in pursuit of their Moskvich. They were caught near the village of Stakhanov where a brutal assault and the remains of the Moskvich were loaded on to a cart and taken to a field. Here the bound victims were left for the night. The bandits returned at dawn, poured petrol over the Lyumanovs and Lomanovs and set fire to them...

The procurator had already begun proceedings the next day on charges of murder and robbery, and the criminals were soon arrested. The investigation bodies carried out a careful examination and presented irrefutable proof to the court.

Almost all the perpetrators of the crime are under 30. Among them is a deputy headmaster, a production training master at a technical college, and the rest are workers of state farms and industrial enterprises.

The Legal Collegium for Criminal Affairs of the Uzbekistan Supreme Court sentenced defendants Parpiyev and Dzhurayev to the extreme punishment—death by firing squad—and the others to lenthy terms of imprisonment.

There are another 85 cases now in the legal system. Some of them, on the instructions of the Uzbekistan Supreme Court, will be examined in other oblasts of the republic. But the most serious cases will be examined in open trials in Fergana Oblast.

Ukrainian Presidium Adopts Language, Election Laws

PM3110153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[RATAU-TASS report: "Session Over"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Oct—The discussion of the draft Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR gave rise to a lively debate at a session of the republic Supreme Soviet held in Kiev.

USSR People's Deputy B.I. Oleynik, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Education and Culture, delivered the report on this question. As a result of the deformation of the Leninist nationalities policy, he emphasized, the language of the Ukraine's indigenous population has narrowed to an everyday rural dialect, to communication between individual representatives of the urban intelligentsia, and to partial functioning in rural schools and higher educational arts institutions and has been almost entirely squeezed out of scientific use and government and party official business. It is our historical right, the main speaker declared, to revive our native tongue and to elevate it to a level worthy of the people.

When embarking on work on the draft law, the speaker continued, we were aware that there are approximately 100 nationalities in the republic and each of them has the same historical right as the Ukrainians to the free development of its native tongue.

The draft law provides for Ukrainian to be granted the status of the state language. Full account is taken of the provisions on the free development of all national languages in the republic and the possibility of their active and equal use in various spheres of life. As for Russian, in accordance with citizens' numerous wishes, it is to remain the language of interethnic communication.

The deputies discussed the draft law article by article. While supporting the granting of state language status to Ukrainian, at the same time a number of deputies advocated recognizing the same right for Russian, particularly in regions where the Russian-speaking population is in a majority.

The session completed its work today.

The deputies adopted the Ukrainian SSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution. It states that the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet is the supreme organ of state power in the republic. Its composition is reduced from 650 to 450 people. The law does not include the provision in the draft of the document on the Congress of People's Deputies of the Ukraine.

Laws on elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and local soviet deputies were adopted at the session. Elections of the republic's people's deputies will take place in single-seat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with a secret ballot.

A proposal for elections from public organizations did not gain the support of the majority of the session participants.

The law on languages, which grants state language status to Ukrainian, was adopted practically unanimously. At the same time the law guarantees all conditions for the equal development and use of the languages of other nationalities in the republic. Russian is recognized as the language of interethnic communication among the peoples of the USSR.

Replies were given to a number of deputies' questions. In particular, V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, characterized in detail the situation connected with eliminating the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station and spoke about the measures being taken and the republic government plans relating to these and other questions of improving the ecological situation in the Ukraine.

The session was addressed by V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Works on Draft Laws

LD0111100289 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Laws adopted at the session of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet which has just ended in Kiev opened up a way to radical changes in the life of the republic. The deputies introduced into the official draft electoral law provisions on elections of Ukraine people's deputies and deputies to local soviets—four of the five clauses forwarded by USSR people's deputies from Ukraine.

From now on, elections will be held in the republic without holding district pre-election meetings and without quotas which guarantee a definite number of deputy seats from public organizations.

Several other important changes have been introduced into the draft laws. The law on languages in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was approved almost unanimously.

Here is Deputy Mykola Zholudyak, from Kremenchug, who was elected deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet:

[Begin Zholudyak recording in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] The session was held in a business like atmosphere, in the spirit of perestroyka, says Mykola Zholudyak. Invited to take part in the session were USSR people's deputies from Ukraine, specialists, and government members. So, the laws adopted at the session were quite timely. For example, the law on languages in Ukraine: The Ukrainian language has become the state language of the republic and it means that it is of great importance not only for the Ukrainians, but for all nations living in our single family, he said. [end recording]

Ukraine Komsomol Chief on 'Crisis' in Ranks

LD3110202589 Kiev in Ukrainian to Europe 1800 GMT 29 Oct 89

[From the "Ukraine Today" program]

[Excerpts] The All-Union Komsomol organization marks its anniversary today. Our correspondent met with Anatoliy Matviyenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Nowadays we often talk about a crisis within the Komsomol ranks. What does it mean, in your view?

[Matviyenko] Well, I'll start from both the crisis in general and the crisis of its structure. [passage omitted] The overall crisis will be solved by adopting a new action program which would be a program for a youth-political organization. As to the structure, it is true that today it is not capable of responding immediately, or of solving the problems faced by young people. The command-administrative style is (?most noticeable) within the Komsomol organization. The structure simply does not respond to the problems of young people. Predominantly, it works for its own benefits. This pyramid will have to be pulled down. That is why today we are busy working out a new charter. [passage omitted]

Today we renounce our monopoly for young people. All that talk in the past that everyone has to go through the school of the Komsomol—no, I do not share this view. The Komsomol organization will grow strong only when it will be able to attract people by the holiness of its ideas. And if, apart from the public-political organization—the present day Komsomol is such an organization—there will exist other organizations, let us say hobby youth groups or groups pursuing professional interests, then we are in favor of maintaining relations with them and helping them. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Rukh Official on Reasons for Split in Movement

LD3111181989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Our next piece of news is from Kharkov. There has been a split in the political leadership of Rukh—the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka. A group of activists, including Professor Vladimir Borisovich Grinev, the former cochairman of the Kharkov Regional Rukh organization, has left the board.

[Begin recording] [V. Pidchenko] Many of its leaders see your departure from the board of Rukh as betraying the cause of perestroyka. What is really the essence of the disagreement?

[Grinev] I, and those who are of the same mind, believe as a matter of principle that the resolution of any issues, including national issues, is possible only in the context of the resolution of political and economic problems in our society, the realization of the ideas of power of the people, and economic perestroyka. On the other hand, my opponents in Rukh today see an opportunity to arouse nationalist feelings and, within the framework of this arousal, of politicizing the people and achieving their own political ends. I believe that this path is fundamentally a dead-end.

[Pidchenko] So there is a split. What now?

[Grinev] We have joined together with the Kharkov People's Democratic Front, and this front has absorbed many fine forces from informal and also formal organizations. We will now fight for democratization, for the resolution of this region's problems, without of course blocking the paths toward resolving the problems within this region itself, without sliding into nationalism, not forgetting our understanding of our special nature, our exclusiveness, and without suppressing difference in views which I unfortunately observed before my very eyes in Rukh. This is quite a common phenomenon. This is our task today. [Video shows interview with Grinev on street] [end recording]

Ukraine's Gomel Oblast First Secretary Replaced

LD2810211589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1447 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Gomel (oblast center in the Ukraine) [as received], 28 Oct (TASS)—A plenum of the Gomel oblast committee of the Belorussian Communist Party [BCP] took place today. It examined an organizational issue.

The plenum released A.S. Kamay from his duties as first secretary of the Gomel oblast party committee in connection with his election as secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

A.A. Grakhovskiy was elected first secretary of the Gomel oblast party committee. He had been working as chairman of the executive committee of the Gomel oblast soviet of people's deputies.

Upcoming Lithuanian Parliament Session Previewed

LD3110134489 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Preparations for a session of the Lithuanian parliament due to begin this Friday have been completed. They were extensive indeed. It was announced that on the eve of the session, the deputies would be received by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, his deputies, ministers, and heads of other governmental agencies.

Naturally, minor issues that cropped up during the previous sessions might be resolved outside parliament by the parties concerned. Ever more so since the coming session plans to pass into law the bills on citizenship and on referendum. Debates are likely to be heated, at times even furious. With this end in view, the parliament's auditing committee has issued today a statement prompted by a letter from a group of deputies. Of late there have been cases of interference in the performance of deputies' duties, reads the statement, psychological pressure challenges the status of deputies and other legislation. The auditing committee appeals to the law enforcement bodies to launch measures securing the deputies' rights and performance of their duties. Persons encroaching upon the deputies' honor and dignity should be brought to justice, says the statement.

'Heated Discussions' on Lithuanian Communist Party

LD3110230189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent A. Paulyas] Lithuania has again become a place of heated discussions, this time on the future of the republic's communist party. About 7,000 proposals have already arrived here, at the Central Committee, from primary organizations. The views of communists have divided; if one section is in favor of everything remaining as it was, then another is for an independent communist party of Lithuania. Two draft programs for an independent communist party were published at the end of September, and here is the draft of another document—the status of the communist party. The Communist Party of Lithuania, we read at the beginning, is an independent political organisation. [Video shows street scenes from Vilnius; press clippings; moving to interview with Brazauskas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee]:

[Begin recording] [Brazauskas] The restructuring processes that are currently taking place in the sphere of state organization, in the sphere of reorganizing the economy, and in matters relating to the economic independence of the republics, this spirit is also carrying over into party life, and I would say that this was the main thing, because, together with the new concept of statehood of an individual republic, or individual republics, the question also arises of the specific independence of the communist parties of the republics, too. Well, perhaps, this has taken a more graphic form with us, I would put it like that.

[Paulyas] Do you share the alarm of those comrade communists who think that the coming congress could lead to a schism in the Communist Party of Lithuania?

[Brazauskas] Well, you see, there are many different views. Certainly, there is such a danger, and we are in no way encouraging this, on the contrary, we are making every effort to prevent this from happening.

[Paulyas] And on what basis could this happen?

[Brazauskas] Well, on the basis, I think that the main cause could be the question of the Communist Party of Lithuania's contacts with the CPSU. Well, the word contacts is very narrow, because this is a whole spectrum of issues, I would say, and areas of cooperation and activity, and for this reason these issues are currently being broadly discussed in various party organizations. But the question is in no way being put that, if the Communist Party of Lithuania is an independent party, then by virtue of this word all contacts, links, with the CPSU are being cancelled. [end recording]

[Paulyas] The questions of the program and status have been included on the agenda of the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania, which will begin on 19 December this year.

Goods Holdups in Riga Port Criticized

PM3110161789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Looking for the Guilty Parties"]

[Text] Riga, 30 Oct—Around 1,000 containers of washing powder, furniture, and clothing have now been shipped into the Latvian capital. But many of them are fated to stand idle.

Just why has the transport system gotten out of hand when until quite recently dockers and railroad workers had been working efficiently?

Partners are accusing each other: Some do not release rolling stock, others delay trains at the docks. However, it is obvious that the shortcomings are collective: Neither the port nor the roads nor the station were prepared for the sharp increase in the volume of freight. Planning to increase the influx of import containers, both the Soviet foreign trade associations and their transportation partners "forgot" that additional freight has to be moved somewhere from the dockside. So it is not right for partners working "hand in glove" now to be pinning the blame for the current congestion on each other. They would do better to seek a solution.

Estonian Draft Law on Ethnic Rights Published

90UN0148A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 13 Oct 89 p 3

[Draft Law of the Estonian SSR "On the National Rights of Citizens of the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] The Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] acknowledges the free development of national life and facilitates national self-realization in all of its democratic and legitimate forms.

Only the right of the Estonian nation as the indigenous nation of Estonia to its ethnic territory and self-determination may be a guarantee of national rights of all citizens of the Estonian SSR.

In implementing the national rights of citizens of the Estonian SSR, the state proceeds from the need to pool the efforts of Estonians and all ethnic groups with a view to accomplishing the political, economic, and cultural sovereignty of Estonia.

Article 1. The Estonian SSR as a sovereign, democratic state guarantees equal political, economic, and social rights and freedoms to the citizens of the Estonian SSR regardless of their nationality.

Article 2. All inhabitants of Estonia regardless of their nationality and citizenship must abide by the Constitution of the Estonian SSR and other laws of the republic and treat with respect the culture, customs and traditions of the Estonian and other nations.

Article 3. Ethnic associations set up in the Estonian SSR and registered through legally established procedures have a right of legislative initiative through the representation of their republic organs.

Article 4. Along with developing the Estonian culture and language, the Estonian SSR creates conditions for the free development of their culture and language by ethnic groups.

Citizens of all nationalities have a right:

—to create ethnic cultural associations;

—to receive general education in the Estonian, Russian, or other language state educational establishments or through cultural associations;

—to receive secondary special and college education and undergo retraining in the Estonian, Russian, or another language, which is ensured by the state in keeping with the needs of the Estonian SSR;

—to organize the dissemination of information and cultural activities in the native language, perform ethnic rituals and religious rights;

—to communicate with representatives of their nationality outside the Estonian SSR, establish contacts with the organs and national organizations of respective national states through their ethnic associations.

Article 5. Along with the state system, organizations and associations involved in the development of ethnic culture have a right to set up with their own funds cultural and educational establishments, create foundations, establish prizes and scholarships, engage in entrepreneurial activities, and publish press organs.

The state provides financial aid and support to national associations.

Article 6. Ethnic, cultural and historical landmarks and national symbols are afforded state protection.

Article 7. Citizens of the Estonian SSR have a right to freely elect their nationality in keeping with their ethnic background.

The honor and dignity of every nation are protected by the state.

Article 8. Any infringement upon the national feelings of another citizen is forbidden.

Any action asserting national exclusivity, national superiority, or fueling ethnic strife are punishable by courts.

Article 9. Regulatory acts necessary for implementing the present law are adopted by the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR.

Kirghiz Supreme Soviet To Convene 24 Nov

LD3010225889 Frunze SOVETTIK KYRGYSTAN in Kirghiz 21 Oct 89 p.1

[Text] In connection with the holding of a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and participation of a number of deputies of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet in its work, the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

To amend the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 9 October decree and to convene the 11th session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation on 24 November 1989, in the city of Frunze.

T. Akmatov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A. Mirzaliyeva, secretary of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

City of Frunze, 19 October 89

Komsomol Urged To 'Struggle' for Support

PM3110130989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[A. Murtazayev article under the rubric "Topical Subject": "Per Ardua ad Astra"]

[Text] Today's birthday of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] has coincided with a new wave of discussion about its further development. Neither the apparatus nor ordinary Komsomol members are satisfied any longer with the role which their youth league plays in the life of a society which has embarked on the path of perestroyka. A diagnosis is even made: The Komsomol is in crisis. The chief trouble is the loss of confidence on the part of the younger generation. You might think that it was entirely under its wing. But many artificially created relationships have disintegrated in the winds of perestroyka. And, however bitter it is to acknowledge the fact, the Komsomol is now losing not only individual members but even entire organizations.

A Komsomol Central Committee plenum ended its work yesterday. It carefully examined the Komsomol movement's real problems. The plenum proposed convening the 21st Komsomol Congress in April 1990 and submitting for its examination the most acute questions of the youth league's life and structure. Fortunately, there are forces in the Komsomol capable of looking the truth in the face.

Having rid themselves of the irritation caused by the growing popularity of associations independent of the Komsomol which have arisen recently, the new Komsomol new leaders who have been advanced by perestroyka in very different parts of our country are making direct contacts with the "informals." In many Komsomol committees today you will not hear something that was common quite recently: "ours"; "not ours." Young people do not accept such a division. Why should it be a bad thing for other organizations to function, in which young people will be able to reveal the wealth of their potential and interests?

Multiplicity of choice and diversity of approaches in the youth movement must not frighten us. There is nothing to fear if we have to abandon primary, sanctioned structures. Provided that spiritual commonality and unity of goals are preserved.

The value of declarations and slogans is verified, in the final analysis, by real deeds and by closeness to young people's problems. In the public eye here, above all, is the package of questions associated with the social protection of young people. It is no secret that the threat of unemployment has arisen in some regions, while in others there is an acute manpower shortage. Just 6-7 percent of the overall volume of goods production is designed for young people. How far this is from even the minimum necessary proportion! The development of youth housing complexes is being held up on various pretexts.

Young people have pinned many hopes on USSR people's deputies representing the Komsomol. But their voices are hardly audible either at the Congress or at USSR Supreme Soviet sessions. Despite having 75 seats, the Komsomol delegates are somehow very timid in making use of their rights, as though there were no youth problems and no electoral mandates.

For long years young people were kept virtually apart from the institutions of power. But today they are being given more and more opportunities. Everything depends on how they manage to use them.

The local soviet elections lie ahead. The tasks of the Komsomol committees are perfectly obvious—to nominate the most active young people as candidates and mount a vigorous election campaign. Because a youth policy can be effectively pursued precisely through the soviets.

Komsomol candidates will be fighting for deputies' seats in electoral okrugs, in a tough competitive struggle.

In difficulties and in hopes the Komsomol's renewal is taking place. Well, per ardua ad astra. It would, I believe, be of some use for those who have not grown too tired and who are still young to recall this aphorism.

Komsomol Statement for 21st Congress Program

PM3110143389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 p 1

[Ninth All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League (Komsomol) Central Committee Plenum Resolution: "On the Komsomol Central Committee Program Statement on the 21st Komsomol Congress"]

[Text] 1. The text of the Komsomol Central Committee Program Statement on the 21st Komsomol Congress is to be approved and regarded as the preliminary basis for the elaboration of the Komsomol Program.

2. The Komsomol Central Committee Commission is to continue work on the draft Komsomol Program in the light of the proposals which will be received during the discussion of the Komsomol Central Committee statement as well as of the program documents elaborated by Komsomol committees and individual collectives.

3. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau is to be instructed to organize the discussion of documents and proposals received by the Komsomol Central Committee Commission on the elaboration of the Komsomol Program.

4. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau is to be allowed to make changes to the composition of the Komsomol Central Committee Commission for the Elaboration of the Komsomol Program.

Proceedings on First Day of Komsomol Plenum

PM3110161389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Ninth Plenum: Day One"]

[Excerpts] The Komsomol Central Committee 9th Plenum began its work in Moscow yesterday. USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol and first and second secretaries of union republic Komsomol central committees, first secretaries of kray and oblast Komsomol committees [kraykom, obkom], assistants to the chiefs of political directorates and political departments of branches and categories of the Armed Forces, districts, and groups of forces and fleets in charge of Komsomol work, full-time secretaries of Komsomol committees of Soviet overseas agencies, secretaries of USSR embassies in charge of liason with youth organizations of foreign countries, and leaders of departments and subunits of the Komsomol Central Committee and the central youth mass media who are not members of central elected bodies.

Secretaries of Moscow City Komsomol Committee [gorkom], first secretaries of Moscow city Komsomol rayon committees, a number of chairmen of auditing commissions of republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organizations, and a group of Komsomol workers and activists of Komsomol organizations of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] who took part in studying the question of setting up an RSFSR Komsomol were invited to the plenum.

The plenum agenda contained the following items:

1. The current moment.
2. The convening of the 21st Komsomol Congress.
3. The principles of forming Komsomol central organs.
4. The draft Komsomol Statutes.
5. The Komsomol Program.
6. Information report by the Komsomol Central Committee commission studying the problems arising in connection with the decisions of the Lithuanian Komsomol 22d Congress.
7. Information report by the working committee set up to study the question of the advisability of forming an RSFSR Komsomol.
8. The proposals of the conference of the Army and Navy Komsomol aktiv on democratizing the life of the Armed Forces Komsomol organization.
9. The upcoming All-Union Student Forum.
10. On the principles concerning the formation and basic indicators of the Komsomol Central Committee 1990 budget.
11. Organizational questions.

A report on the first item was delivered by Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary V. Mironenko.

Reports were delivered on the items on convening the 21st Komsomol Congress, the principles concerning the formation of Komsomol central organs, and preparation of the Komsomol draft Statutes by Komsomol Central Committee Secretary V. Zyukin.

A briefing on the progress of work on the Komsomol draft program was given by V. Mironenko. [passage omitted]

The plenum adopted Resolutions "On convening the 21st Komsomol Congress" and "On the Komsomol Central Committee Program Statement regarding the 21st Komsomol Congress."

The plenum examined an information report delivered by I. Yefimov, assistant to the chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, "On the proposals of the Army and Navy Komsomol aktiv on democratizing the life of USSR Armed Forces Komsomol organizations" and adopted a resolution on this item.

A report on the upcoming All-Union Student Forum was delivered by Komsomol Central Committee Secretary S. Smirnov.

The following took part in discussion of this item: V. Karmanov, first secretary of Chelyabinsk Komsomol Obkom; T. Novikova, first secretary of Kemerovo Komsomol Obkom; G. Altinbekova, secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee; and A. Shlapak, first secretary of the Lvov Ukrainian Komsomol Obkom.

The plenum adopted a resolution "On the All-Union Student Forum."

Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus took part in the work of the plenum.

The Komsomol plenum will continue its work today.

Report on Day 2 of Plenum

PM3110150789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Ninth All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League (Komsomol) Central Committee Plenum: Day Two"]

[Excerpts] The 9th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum continued work in Moscow yesterday. The report of the Komsomol Central Committee Commission on the study of the problems arising in connection with the decisions of the 22d Lithuanian Komsomol Congress was delivered by A. Bochurov, commission member and deputy general director of the Komsomol Central Committee's Molodaya Gvardiya publishing and printing association.

The report of the working committee created to study the question of the expediency of the formation of a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Komsomol was delivered at the plenum by S. Kuznetsov, deputy chairman of the committee and first secretary of the Tomsk Komsomol Oblast Committee.

Yu. Shunin, head of the Komsomol Central Committee Administration of Affairs finance and budget department, delivered a report on the question of the principles of the formation of the Komsomol budget and the main indicators of the Komsomol Central Committee budget for 1990. [passage omitted]

The plenum adopted resolutions on the materials for discussion elaborated by the Central Committee commissions in connection with the preparation of the Komsomol draft Statutes, "On the possible procedure for the establishment of the new composition of the Komsomol's central organs," "On the 22d Lithuanian Lenin Communist Youth League Congress," "On the convening of a congress of the Lenin Communist Youth League organizations of the RSFSR," "On the principles of the formation of the Komsomol budget and the main indicators of the Komsomol Central Committee budget for 1990," and "On changes to the composition of Komsomol Central Committee commissions."

The plenum elected delegates to the All-Union student forum in accordance with the preparatory committee's quota.

The plenum adopted a resolution "On the situation which has arisen in the regions affected by the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station."

The Komsomol Central Committee Plenum expressed condolences to the relatives and friends of the airborne assault troopers and aircraft crews killed in an air crash while giving assistance in Armenia and Azerbaijan. A decision was adopted to inscribe the names of the dead in the Komsomol Central Committee Book of Honor, to award Komsomol Central Committee "Military Valor" badges posthumously, and to allocate R50,000 for the establishment of a memorial to the airborne assault troopers in Bolgrad, a city in Odessa Oblast.

The plenum expressed gratitude to all who sent their congratulations to the Komsomol Central Committee on the Lenin Komsomol's foundation day and in turn congratulated the country's Komsomol members.

The plenum determined the procedure for the coverage of the 9th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum's work.

At this point the 9th Komsomol Central Committee Plenum ended its work.

Remains of Stalin Victims Found in Ukraine

LD3110203689 Kiev in Ukrainian to Europe 1800 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Excerpts] News that a mass burial of victims of Stalinist repressions has been located on the outskirts of Ivano-Frankovsk has stirred the sub-Carpathian region. Several holes with the remnants of victims have been opened. The oblast procurator's office has initiated a criminal case in this connection. Mykola Danyliv, senior investigator of the oblast procuraturate, said the folowing to our correspondent:

[Begin Danyliv recording] The digging was started on information from an inhabitant of Pasechnoye village. He said that in 1941, just before the war, trucks were going into the forest with unknown loads. We started to dig there and soon the first corpses were located. In the first hole we found the remains of 212 victims. [passage omitted]

The exact number will be released by the investigation commission later. So far, in the second place we found 210 corpses and in the third, 104. All the remains will be reburied in a common grave and a monument erected. [end recording]

Psychiatric Specialist Acknowledges Faults

PM3010131189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with A. Karpov, chief psychiatric specialist with the USSR Health Ministry, by own correspondent F. Ivanov under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "The USSR and World Psychiatry"—date and place unspecified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A briefing was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center for Soviet and foreign correspondents on the subject of the recently ended World Association of Psychiatrists Congress.

The day before, your IZVESTIYA correspondent interviewed A. Karpov, chief psychiatric specialist with the USSR Health Ministry.

[Ivanov] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, as we know, the congress voted by a majority to restore the Soviet Union's membership of this authoritative international organization. But why did we remain outside the World Association of Psychiatrists for a number of years?

[Karpov] Let me remind you that we left the association in 1983. At that time, the leadership of the World Association of Psychiatrists had adopted a course of politicizing psychiatry and wholeheartedly supported people trying to show that psychiatry was being used as an instrument of political tyranny in the USSR. Constructive cooperation was impossible in those conditions.

[Ivanov] You believe that those accusations brought against us were unfounded?

[Karpov] There is no one answer to this question. I believe that, for many years, the conditions certainly existed in our country whereby it was possible to place people in psychiatric institutions for nonmedical reasons—political reasons included—and that some such cases did in fact occur. But, as a psychiatrist with 20 years' experience, I maintain that these cases were not a system and that the overwhelming majority of people in our hospitals were indeed sick people.

[Ivanov] Why did we request the USSR's readmission to the World Association of Psychiatrists?

[Karpov] The situation in the world has sharply changed recently, our country's international contacts have begun to expand, and information on the Soviet psychiatric service has become more objective. This was helped, in particular, by the visit to the USSR at the beginning of this year by a group of U.S psychiatrists, legal experts, and Sovietologists. They met physicians and patients and were given free access to all information of interest to them. Often what they saw aroused a negative reaction, but this applied to the conditions in which the patients were kept. There were also sometimes differences of opinion with regard to diagnosis. These shortcomings are, alas, typical of our psychiatry service. But the main conclusion which the Americans drew for themselves was that no instance of a Soviet citizen's being placed in a psychiatric institution for political reasons has been brought to light recently.

An official mission from the World Association of Psychiatrists is to visit the USSR soon to assess the state of our psychiatric service. We do not intend to hide anything, even though we really have built up a great many problems. But I am sure that the result will be an end to the business about "Soviet dissidents languishing in psychiatric hospitals." Moreover, it seems to me that the arrival of this representative delegation will force our authorities here to think seriously about improving the psychiatric service.

Denies Dissidents in Hospitals

LD3110143389 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Aleksandr Karpov, chief psychiatric expert at the USSR Ministry of Health, has denied allegations that six people are being detained in a psychiatric clinic in Alma-Ata, the capital of Soviet Kazakhstan, for political reasons.

"We have carried out a thorough check and it turned out that there are no 'fighters for justice' either there or anywhere else in general," he told the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA today.

The list of six people allegedly kept there was circulated at the World Psychiatric Association's 8th Congress in Athens in the middle of this month.

The Soviet All-Union Scientific Society of Psychiatrists rejoined the world association after a six-year interval. Karpov was a member of the Soviet delegation attending the congress.

"We have no secrets from anyone," he told the newspaper. "If there are doubts, anyone is welcome here to look into the matter on the spot. The doors of clinics are open to our foreign counterparts."

"For example, a group of American psychiatrists visited the country in February-March this year. They also had their own list of names. Thirty people were examined. There were divergencies in diagnoses and at times substantial ones but they did not find any person put into hospital for political reasons."

In answer to the question as to whether clinics were always used for their proper purpose, Karpov said: "There were cases when people who did not need hospitalisation found themselves in our hospitals. It was quite possible to keep them under medical observation at home as outpatients.

"The question is not in some evil intent. Just as is the case in any profession, we still have a lot of incompetent personnel. We shake them off gradually, however.

"There were, of course, abuses too. Clinics were used to provide shelter for criminals, and fake certificates exempting people from army services were issued.

"As far as dissidents are concerned I do not know a single instance when a person for his or her convictions would be placed in a mental hospital. It is quite possible that such cases did happen previously, during the stagnation period as it is now referred to."

Rome Conference Examines Glasnost, Perestroyka

PM0111125489 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 27 Oct 89 p 13

[Marcello Villari report: "Rome Conference on Perestroyka: 'Glasnost a Daily Struggle In The Press'"]

[Text] Rome—The law-based state in the USSR and the future of perestroyka are the subjects of a conference under way in Rome. At two sessions yesterday, presided over by Paolo Flores d'Arcais and Giorgio Ruffolo, several Soviet people's deputies and intellectuals talked about their daily struggle to assert glasnost in the fields of information and justice against the resistance of the apparatus.

"Glasnost" has taken great strides under Gorbachev: It is "perestroyka"—that is, the restructuring of the economy—that is marking time. This is the shared opinion of the large group of Soviet congress deputies and intellectuals who came to Rome at the invitation of L'ESPRESSO and MICROMEGA to discuss the USSR's future. The subject is rendered all the more topical by Gorbachev's imminent visit to Italy scheduled for the end of November. So glasnost has progressed, but not as much some of the Soviet guests would have liked. Sergey Zalygin, editor of NOVYY MIR magazine, complained about the fact that, although censorship no longer exists, there are restrictions of various kinds—military, nuclear, and so forth. "In the USSR we have virtual glasnost," he said. But we have to confront this "virtual" every day, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI journalist Len Karpinskiy added. "We have been told—by Ligachev, for instance—that the mass media's task is to help the party and perestroyka. But it is precisely from this old and consolidated view that we must free ourselves. And we are doing so with much difficulty. I would like to cite just one example, he added: When we interviewed Solidarity leader Walesa the Party apparatus intervened to advise us against publishing it. But in the end, after 2 weeks we published it all the same, and nothing happened." Next Karpinskiy said that there are now no less than 350 independent magazines in the USSR.

Another speaker yesterday was the famous magistrate, Telman Gdlyan, the investigator who uncovered the existence in the USSR of a mafia and its links with the Party and state apparatus (in his investigation Gdlyan went as far as to implicate Ligachev, no less.) Thus the topic of the "law-based state" shifted to the delicate field of relations between the judiciary and the Party. "Before implementing the law we are still obliged to secure agreement from the Party. This means that a law-based state still does not exist in the USSR." Next Gdlyan returned to his theory of the development in the USSR of a mafia closely linked to the nomenklatura and the economic powers that be. To combat the phenomenon, the magistrate said, "I would look very favorably on the USSR's joining Interpol"—an opinion shared by the present chairman of the KGB, who has submitted a request to this effect. Other speakers at the conference—chaired in the morning by Paolo Flores d'Arcais and in the afternoon by Giorgio Ruffolo—included sociologist Leonid Batkin; Polish United Workers Party leader Aleksander Kwasniewski, who talked about the future of Poland and the Polish communist Party; Boris Vasilev; and Nadezhda Kozusanaja [last name as published].

Professor Views Problems of Federation

PM2010114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Professor N. Mikhaleva, doctor of juridical sciences, under the rubric "Echoes of the Plenum": "The Fate of Our Federation"]

[Text] Moscow—**And so our society has a clearly formulated Platform of the CPSU's Nationalities Policy in Current Conditions which defines the strategy and tactics in the sphere of interethnic relations for the long-term future, provides for the renewal of the Soviet federation, and outlines constitutional options for the solution of this problem.**

Unquestionably, the debate in the pages of PRAVDA which made it possible to highlight diametrically opposed views on the problems of federalism played a constructive role in the elaboration of the party platform on the ethnic question. The debate participants expressed interesting views on the dialectics of federalism, unitarism, and autonomy; the content of peoples' self-determination; the limits of sovereign state power; the hierarchichal structure of sovereignty within the framework of a federation; the outlines of a law on federation; the mechanism of the self-management of peoples within the framework of a single multinational state; ways of developing the cultural and national autonomy of small peoples, and so forth.

The debate has shown that union republics do not have the right to ignore the constitution of the federation; to ratify—that is, validate—acts of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium; or to arrogate the right of republican veto in respect of acts passed by union legislative bodies. This does not exist in any federation, either socialist or bourgeois. In general, it is inconceivable in a federal rule-of-law state since it would lead to total chaos and a destabilization of the sociopolitical and legal system.

No one is denying republics the right to renew their constitution. However, in a federal state republic legislation must not conflict with union law. This is an axiom of lawmaking which is enshrined in all the federal constitutions of the world. This is stated with utmost clarity in the CPSU Platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy in Current Conditions."

It is true, of course, that our existing constitution is outdated in some respects and will be reviewed in the near future. However, the amendments will not affect the federal structure of the state, the principle of the supremacy of union law, or citizens' equality. As long as the constitution has not been amended by legal means, it cannot be ignored or violated. In this principle lies the original meaning of the idea of the federal rule-of-law state.

The constitution protects the social system, but itself also needs protection, primarily on the part of lawmakers. It is no accident that U.S. congressmen and members of state legislative assemblies both take the oath to observe the Federal Constitution. An oath of loyalty to the constitution is sworn by deputies of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and the SFRY Assembly. Refusal to swear the oath entails loss of mandate. It would not be a bad thing if we, too, adopted this practice.

All federal states without exception operate not just the principle of the supremacy of federal law but also a relatively complex mechanism for monitoring the conformity of the acts passed by the constituents of the federation with the constitution and union legislation. Take Yugoslavia, for instance. The SFRY Constitution lays down that republic constitutions and laws must not conflict with the SFRY Constitution and union laws. The question of the conformity of republican acts with the union constitution and law, just as disputes between republics, and between republics and the federation, are settled by Yugoslavia's Constitutional Court. If it establishes that a republic law is not in line with the federal constitution or union law, it registers this fact by adopting a resolution which is dispatched to the republic assembly. The latter is obliged within 6 months of receiving this resolution to bring its law into line with the SFRY Constitution or to eliminate the discrepancy between the republic and the union law. At the request of the republic assembly, the Yugoslav Constitutional Court may extend this period for a maximum of 6 months. If the republic assembly fails to bring its law into line with the SFRY Constitution or to eliminate the discrepancy between the republic and the union law, the provisions of the law which do not conform to the SFRY Constitution or the union law become invalid. The Yugoslav Constitutional Court registers this by adopting a resolution. This is how the dispute is to be resolved which has arisen between the SFRY and Slovenia, which has adopted amendments to its constitution that have been interpreted in Yugoslavia as a real threat to the integrity of the federal state.

A mechanism to monitor the conformity of republic constitutional legislation with union legislation exists also in the USSR, but it is not effective enough. Therefore the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum expressed itself in favor of elaborating in the new USSR Constitution an effective legal mechanism for resolving conflicts and disputes about rights between the federation and its constituents and also between republics and other national-state and national-territorial formations. It was proposed that the functions of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee and the powers of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet in the sphere of settling conflicts between constituents of the federation be meticulously elaborated. It would be expedient to make use of international parliamentary experience and the function of the mechanism of constitutional courts in socialist and bourgeois countries in this sphere.

It is evident from some articles that their authors would prefer a loose confederative association of republics to a firm federation. They cite Canada and Switzerland as examples of a confederative association, although both these states are federations. (The official title of the country—"Confederation Helvetica"—is a tribute to tradition and a reminder of the confederation which existed until 1818).

Some readers might think that Canada and Switzerland—the cited examples of state organization—grant unlimited sovereignty to their members. This would be wrong! Let us turn to the text of Article 3 of the Swiss Constitution: "The cantons are sovereign inasmuch as their sovereignty is not limited by the union constitution and as such they exercise all rights which have not been delegated to the central powers." In the present-day world there is no socialist federation (Czechoslovakia, SFRY) nor a bourgeois federation (United States, Canada, FRG, Austria, India, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and so forth) whose members enjoy broader rights than the republics of the Soviet Union, up to and including the right to withdraw from the federation at will. In this respect our federation is unique.

The trend toward dismantling the federation, toward turning it into a confederation runs counter the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies which pointed out in its resolution "On the Basic Guidelines for Domestic and Foreign Policy" that questions pertaining to ethnic relations should be resolved within the framework of the federal system, that the federal system of our multinational state should be given a real political and economic content, and that the new USSR Constitution should be an embodiment of the Leninist federal system. The selfsame stance is reaffirmned in the CPSU Platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy in Current Conditions."

Disproportions did, of course, occur between the standards of the constitution and the proclaimed principles of the Soviet federation and the practices of the political process during the years of Stalin and Brezhnev rule.

Perestroyka is creating all the preconditions for the restoration of the Leninist essence of national-state building, which rules out uniform methods of resolving problems without taking account of the national characteristics and the interests of big as well as small peoples. The improvement of the existing model of the federation, more precise legal formulation of its status in the new USSR Constitution, and the creation of a mechanism for balancing the rights and obligations of the USSR, union and autonomous republics, and all national-state and national-territorial formations, the development of the cultural and national autonomy of small peoples—this is the way to resolve ethnic problems as elaborated in the CPSU Platform. Each republic will have broad constitutional rights but also obligations and responsibilities in respect of the Union as a whole and of the constituents of the federation.

The CPSU Platform once again emphasizes that nationalities policy must be organized so as to ensure that every Soviet citizen, no matter in what part of the country he or she lives, can enjoy all the rights and freedoms irrespective of his ethnic origins. This is the supreme principle of human civilization. Defending anything but this principle would be inhumane and unlawful. Is it lawful perhaps if a republic, in violation of the USSR Constitution and of international conventions on political and human rights which the Soviet Union has signed, adopts laws which impose residential qualifications on the right to vote, introduce language strictures on citizenship, and consider lack of knowledge of the language of the indigenous nationality as a disqualification when applying for a job? Democracy does not mean taking away from people the rights which they possess but creating additional guarantees for the exercise of these rights.

The debate which was started on the initiative of the party in the press and continued at the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum is now moving into the session halls of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its chambers, committees, deputy commissions, labor collectives, and civic meetings. Naturally, there is a need to argue in the process of the quest for optimum political and legal solutions. However, no matter how mutually exclusive the stances of the sides are, no matter how exaggerated their national ambitions, the main factor in the positions of the opponents must be loyalty to the socialist ideals, mutual respect, and tolerance of others' opinions. Even people holding irreconcilable views can talk to each other in a correct and civilized manner.

Stroyev Addresses Group on Managing Food Resources

LD1810050289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Matters of developing resources in food on the basis of the widespread use of various forms of management and the accelerated development of the storage and processing base, in light of the demands of the March 1989 CPSU Central Committee plenum, were considered at an all-union seminar-conference held 16-17 October in Voronezh.

Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed those taking part in the seminar-conference. A report on the seminar is being published in the newspapers.

Economic

Jan-Sep 1989 Socioecomomic Figures Released

PM2910133789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 1-3

[USSR State Committee for Statistics report: "USSR's Socioeconomic Development in the First 9 Months of 1989"]

[Text] During this period the structural improvements in social production linked with the intensification of its social thrust have continued to be implemented. The proportion of resources channeled into consumption and nonproduction construction has increased. The growth rate of the production of Group "B" industrial output has outstripped the indicators for Group "A" output fourfold. The volume of paid services to the population is expanding. Practical measures are being taken to convert defense sectors. The plan for retain trade turnover is being overfulfilled.

The process of introducing new forms and methods of national economic management has continued. Fifty-nine concerns, 80 consortiums, 27 joint-stock societies, and 69 production associations have been set up. There were 1,099 industrial enterprises, 655 construction organizations, 931 retail trade enterprises, 826 public catering enterprises, 137 consumer service enterprises, and a number of others working on lease contracts as of October 1989.

At the same time, national economic development has been proceeding under complex conditions in the current year. The country's socioeconomic position deteriorated particularly in the third quarter. To a considerable extent this was brought about by the drop in labor and executive discipline, and by the interethnic conflicts and strikes.

As a result, there was a substantial fall in economic growth rates, and the production of many of the most important types of output decreased. Uncontrolled income growth complicated the situation in the consumer market. Shortages of a number of prime necessities increased. The commissioning of housing and sociocultural projects declined.

The basic indicators for the country's socioeconomic development in the first 9 months of 1989 are characterized by the following figures (growth in percentages) [minus sign before a figure indicates negative growth]:

[In the following table, Column A shows "Amended plan [utochnennyy plan] (or plan-based figures) for the year"; Column B shows "Actual figure for January-September 1989 as a percentage of January-September 1988"]

	A	B
Gross national product	7	3.6
National income produced	5.7	2.4
Social labor productivity	4.5	2.2
Industrial output	3.0	2.2
Production of consumer goods (excluding alcoholic beverages)	10.0	5.7
of which:		
food	11.0	3.2
nonfood	9.3	7.3
Commissioning funded by state centralized capital investment and resources of enterprise and organization funds:		
fixed capital	13 *	-3
housing	6 *	-6
State centralized capital investment and resources of enterprise and organization funds	3	3
Volume of freight shipments (consignments) by general-purpose transport	0.1	-1.6
Passenger turnover on general-purpose transport	2.1	0.8
Profit in the national economy (excluding state farms [sovkhozes] and the USSR Main Administration for State Insurance)	2.7	5.2
Number of workers and employees	0.4	-0.7
Wage fund in the national economy	3.2	8.5
Average monthly monetary wage of workers and employees	3.1	9.5
Average monthly remuneration of collective farm [kolkhoz] members in public-sector farming	4	8
Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds	5.5	5.8
Retail trade turnover in state and cooperative trade	7.6	9.9
Paid services to the population	10.5	8.2
Foreign trade turnover	2.9	2.8

* *Total of enterprises' and organizations' plans*

The measures being implemented in the country to improve the **financial position** have not yet produced any tangible results. The volume of loan funds from the general state loan fund used to cover budget spending has increased, as has the state internal debt.

Payments to the budget from state enterprise and organization profits (income) in January-September amounted to R86.8 billion, which is R3.3 billion less than in the same period last year.

Turnover tax produced a total of R81.8 billion for the budget, which is R8.9 billion, or 12.2 percent, more than in the same period last year.

The practice of enterprises and organizations adopting downgraded profits plans continues, as a result of which the plan adopted for this year's accounting period has turned out to be lower than the actual level in the same period last year. Plan targets for accumulations have been overfulfilled by all the main sectors and national economic complexes. At the same time, 5 percent of contract construction and installation organizations in the national economy, 6 percent of industrial enterprises, 7 percent of transport enterprises, 10 percent of enterprises providing consumer services to the population, and 23 percent of supplies and sales organizations continue to operate at a loss.

Credit investment has fallen by R5.2 billion (1.3 percent) since the start of the year and stood at R399.3 billion on 1 October.

Defaults on short-term bank loans and on mutual transactions between economic organizations stood at R19.8 billion on 1 October. One ruble in every five loaned by way of short-term bank credit is unsecured.

In the first 9 months of the year the money supply was 17.3 percent higher than in the same period last year.

In the third quarter preparations were conducted for the work of the national economy under **winter conditions.** As of 2 October the main consumers' coal stocks stood at 62.2 million tonnes, which is virtually the level at 30 September last year. During September coal stocks increased by 3.4 million tonnes, as against 4 million tonnes in the same period last year. As of 2 October stocks of industrial fuel oil stood at 17.8 million tonnes, which is 1 million tonnes, or 6 percent, more than at 30 September last year.

At the beginning of October 98 percent of the total state housing stock in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] had been prepared for winter conditions. Of the 25 autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts in which preparatory work should have been completed by 1 September, the set targets had not been fulfilled in 16 regions. The greatest lags have occurred in Amur, Murmansk, Tyumen, and Chita Oblasts, where targets were less than 90 percent fulfilled. Among the republics where the date for the completion of the work was set at 1 October the lowest level of preparedness of the state housing stock was in the Moldavian, Latvian, and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics [SSR]—88-91 percent.

The target for preparing the substandard (decrepit) heating networks in the Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] and Sakhalin, Vologda, Belgorod, and Bryansk Oblasts was only 55-68 percent fulfilled, whereas this work should have been completed by 1-15 September.

Social Development

Employment of the population. The national economy employed more than 130 million persons in January-September, including 116.2 million workers and employees and 11.6 million kolkhoz members, with 2 million and 0.3 million persons employed in cooperatives or engaged in individual labor activity respectively (excluding those who combine jobs).

Compared with the corresponding period last year, the number of workers at state enterprises and organizations in the physical production sphere declined by 0.8 million, while the number of persons employed in the services sphere increased by 0.2 million. The number of persons employed in science and scientific services declined by 0.2 million, while the number of persons employed in the apparatus of management organs declined by 0.3 million. During this period, the number of persons employed in cooperatives increased by 2.8 million or almost fivefold, and reached 3.6 million including those who combine jobs. There are 15,000 persons working at joint enterprises. Intersector state associations employ about 200,000 persons.

The state of labor discipline deteriorated in January-September this year, absenteeism and stoppages increased, and so did cadre turnover. The greater loss of worktime was largely due to mass failures to report for work resulting from strikes. Consequently, worktime losses in the national economy during the period under review amounted to over 7 million man-days, including 2.3 million in September. Every day in the country an average of 34,000 persons failed to work for that reason, while the figure for September stood at around 100,000. Consequently, direct losses of output (work not done) alone in industry and the construction industry reached R0.7 billion in January-September.

Strikes were most widespread in the Moldavian SSR and Georgian SSR, where 1.3 million man-days were lost in September alone as a result of work stoppages at enterprises and organizations. About 1 million man-days were lost for the same reason in the Azerbaijan SSR. There were no strikes in the Armenian SSR in September; but the shortfall in deliveries of raw and other materials to industry in January-September resulted in the plan being underfulfilled by R0.2 billion.

Population's incomes. The average monthly monetary wage of workers and employees was R236 against R216 in the corresponding period last year, while kolkhoz members' labor remuneration was R168 against R156 respectively. The average monthly earnings of persons working in cooperatives (including those who combine jobs) was in excess of R400.

The January-September growth of average wages in industry (enterprises under the 29 industrial ministries and intersector state associations) was 8.9 percent, with a 4-percent increase in labor productivity, the figures for the construction industry (the main construction industry ministries and departments) were 8.2 percent and 3 percent respectively, and the figures for railroad transport were 4.8 percent and 0.3 percent respectiveiy.

The population received payments and benefits totaling about R135 billion from social consumption funds, this figure being R7.4 billion or 5.8 percent more than in the first 9 months last year. Monetary payments accounted for about 50 percent of this total.

The population's income increased by 12.2 percent compared with the corresponding period last year. The labor remuneration fund for workers and employees increased by 8.5 percent, and that of kolkhoz members by 8 percent. The growth rate of monetary incomes was 1.3 times higher than the growth of expenditure on goods and services.

The population's deposits with branches of the USSR Savings Bank increased by R23.1 billion in January-September and reached R319.8 billion. Savings certificates [sertifikaty] worth a total of R2.2 billion were sold in addition to this.

According to data from a study of 90,000 family budgets, the average monthly per capita monetary income of workers and employees reached R155, this being an increase of 8 percent compared with the corresponding period last year; the corresponding figures for kolkhoz members being R111 and 7 percent respectively.

The expenditure by workers', employees', and kolkhoz members' families on purchases of foodstuffs increased by 3-5 percent compared with January-September last year, while that on purchases of nonfood goods increased by 5-9 percent.

The production of **consumer goods** (including the value of alcoholic beverages) amounted to R308 billion (in retail prices), which was R22.3 billion or 7.8 percent more than during the corresponding period last year.

The production of individual food products in January-September is characterized by the following figures: [In the following table, Column A shows "Actual figure for January-September 1989"; Column B shows "Percentage fulfillment of plan"; Column C shows "January-September 1989 as percentage of January-September 1988"]

	A	B	C
Meat (industrial production), million tonnes	9.6	104	100.9
Sausage products, million tonnes	2.9	101	102
Butter, million tonnes	1.4	105	100.3
Wholemilk products (in milk equivalent), million tonnes	25.9	103	103
Full-fat cheeses, million tonnes	0.7	104	101
Edible fish products, including canned fish, million tonnes	4.3	105	96
Margarine products, million tonnes	1.1	100.2	96
Vegetable oil, million tonnes	2.3	101	104
Granulated sugar, million tonnes	6.0	107	111
Confectionery, million tonnes	3.7	103	105
Canned foods, billion standard cans	15.5	99.5	100.2
of which: fruit and vegetables	11.0	99.3	99.4
Mineral water, million dekaliters	136	100.4	102
Nonalcoholic beverages, million dekaliters	512	101	100.2

Alcoholic beverages in absolute alcohol equivalent, million dekaliters	92.8	105	124
Cigarettes, billions	252	100	95

The production plans for individual categories of output and their manufacture at many food industry enterprises were below the actual level achieved in 1988.

Compared with the corresponding period last year, meat production was cut back by enterprises in the Belorussian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR, and Armenian SSR. Butter production fell in the Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR; whole-milk production fell in the Azerbaijan SSR; and vegetable oil and confectionery production fell in the Georgian SSR.

Difficulties in supplying the population with nonfood consumer goods are being overcome only slowly. The manufacture of these goods in January-September amounted to R167.1 billion (in retail prices). The growth compared with the corresponding period last year was R11.4 billion or 7.3 percent, which was below the growth envisaged by the annual target of 9.3 percent.

The average daily output for a series of goods declined during the third quarter compared with the first six months. This applies in particular to the manufacture of refrigerators and freezers (average daily output of 24,100 during the third quarter against 25,700 during the first 6 months), washing machines with 25,200 and 25,900 respectively, vacuum cleaners with 19,000 and 19,800, tape recorders with 21,800 and 22,200, motorcycles with 3,500 and 3,900, bicycles (excluding children's) with 20,900 and 22,400, television sets with 37,100 and 39,000, and domestic sewing machines with 5,200 and 6,100. The main causes of this state of affairs were omissions in the preparation of production units for new models of these goods, as well as short deliveries of materials and components as a result of disruptions in railroad transport operations and declining contractual discipline by suppliers.

Light industry manufactured goods worth a total of R71.2 billion (in retail prices) were produced, which is 4.3 percent more than during the first 9 months last year, with output growth amounting to R3 billion. Contractual commitments for deliveries were breached by 303 light industry enterprises (19 percent of the total), resulting in the nondelivery of goods worth R494 million. The level of performance of contractual commitments was lower than in the country as a whole at enterprises in the Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Uzbek SSR, Moldavian SSR, and Armenian SSR.

The fulfillment of targets for the production of nonfood consumer goods is characterized by the following figures: [In the following table, Column A shows "Actual in January-September 1989," Column B "Percentage fulfillment of enterprise plans," and Column C "January-September 1989 as percentage of January-September 1988"]:

	A	B	C
Textiles—total, billion square meters	9.8	100.4	100.7
of which cotton	6.0	99.9	99.9
Knitted goods, million items	1,395	100.9	102
of which children's goods (union republic ministries of light industry)	756	103	103
Hosiery, million pairs	1,552	100.7	99.1
of which children's (union republic ministries of light industry)	553	101	100.3
Sewn goods industry output (at normative processing cost), million rubles	2,025	104	102
Footwear, million pairs	596	99.98	101
of which children's (union republic ministries of light industry)	271	100.8	101
Television sets, millions	7.3	99.2	103
of which color sets	4.6	100.3	110
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	4.8	99	103
Radio receivers, millions	6.3	99.3	105
Tape recorders, millions	4.2	98	102
Videotape recorders, thousands	88.9	103	175
Sewing machines, thousands	1,107	96	94
of which "zigzag" type	719	97	96
Washing machines, millions	4.9	100	109
Vacuum cleaners, millions	3.7	100	104
Furniture, billion rubles	7.2	101	106
Motorcycles, thousands	713	99	98
Bicycles (excluding children's), millions	4.2	99.8	99.2
Cars, thousands	907	100.2	94
Wallpaper, million standard sheets	435	102	104
Paper and stationery products, million rubles	660	104	107
Elements and galvanic batteries for domestic electrical appliances, millions	738	101	101
Summer houses, including component kits, timber frames, and domestic units (in part, deliveries to trading organizations), thousands	94.3	96	122
Synthetic detergents, thousand tonnes	1,044	103	108
of which, in small packages	819	101	107
Household soap, thousand tonnes	516	106	109
Toilet soap, thousand tonnes	220	104	106
Cooking salt (extracted), million tonnes	11.7	102	100.2

Retail trade turnover and paid services. Practical measures were implemented to more fully satisfy the population's needs for goods and services. Imports increased in parallel with the increased manufacture of Soviet-made output. Goods worth R35 billion were purchased

during the first nine months, which is R6 billion or 19 percent more than in the same period last year.

The retail trade turnover plan was fulfilled 101.9 percent, with additional goods sales amounting to R5.5 billion. The trade turnover plan was fulfilled by all union republics except the Georgian SSR.

The total volume of retail trade turnover in the state and cooperative trade network amounted to R295.9 billion. Compared with the corresponding period last year, it increased by R26.7 billion, including an increase of R1.3 billion in cooperatives. Alcoholic beverages accounted for approximately 30 percent of the trade turnover growth (an increase of R8.1 billion or 28 percent); over 20 percent of the growth (R6 billion) was achieved through increased average-category retail prices for commodity purchases; there was an increase of over R3 billion in the sale of goods to organizations, institutions, and enterprises on credit and for cash. Direct sales to the population of enterprises' own commodity output (excluding alcoholic beverages) increased by R9.5 billion or 4 percent.

The quantity of foodstuffs and nonfood goods sold since the beginning of the year is R18.6 billion or 7.7 percent more than in January-September last year. There was a 2-5 percent increase in sales of meat and meat products, butter, wholemilk products, confectionary, tobacco products, leather footwear, earthenware, china, and glassware, sports goods (excluding clothing and footwear), cameras, television sets, and radio receivers; a 6-10 percent increase in sales of vegetable oils, tea, textiles, clothes, knitwear and hosiery, clocks and watches, tape recorders, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners; and a 19-25 percent increase in sales of gasoline and timber. Sales of bakery products, cheese, nonalcoholic beverages and mineral water, and refrigerators and freezers were at the same level as last year. There was a 2-4 percent fall in sales of fish products, margarine products, potatoes, vegetables, fruit and vegetable juices, rubber footwear, bicycles and mopeds, and cars; a 6-8 percent fall in sales of motorcycles and motor scooters and silk; a 10 percent fall in sales of fruit and citrus fruits; and a 12 percent fall in sales of sugar.

Measures were implemented to improve supplies of soap and detergents to the population; import purchases were almost six times the quantity in the corresponding period last year. But the demand for and disruptions in the trade in these goods are not abating. The population continues to acquire detergents in excess of current demand to form their own consumer stock. Soap and detergents held by the population account for approximately 20 percent of the annual stocks channeled into the trade network. Soap and detergent stocks in the trade network have been built up somewhat in order to normalize sales.

As a result of implemented measures, imported foodstuffs were 23 percent more than in the same period last year. Food sales by stores in city cooperative trade networks amounted to R7.4 billion, which was 10.2 percent more than in January-September 1988. But there was no success in substantially improving food supplies for the population.

Supplies of the most important categories of foodstuffs for the population deteriorated in many of the country's regions. For example, compared with January-September last year, sales of meat and poultry to the population from state resources fell on 42 territories (oblasts, krays, and ASSR's), sales of butter fell on 33 territories, and sales of fish fell on more than 70 territories. The shortage of food resources determined the introduction of rationing [normirovaniye prodazhi] in some regions. During September, meat was being sold by coupons (calculated on the basis of 1-2 kg per resident per month) in 33 oblast (kray) centers and republic capitals, butter (on the basis of 400-500 grams) in 20, and tea (on the basis of 100 grams) in 16.

The population's demand for potatoes, fruit, and vegetables remains unsatisfied. An especially adverse situation is developing as regards the buildup of all-union stock resources meant to supply the population of industrial centers. The annual plan for deliveries to all-union stocks was fulfilled only 34 percent for potatoes, 57 percent for vegetables, 25 percent for stone fruit, and 28 percent for grapes.

The grain product resources allocated for the fourth quarter will make it possible to increase the average daily sale of flour, bread, and bakery products by 10 percent, of groats by 2 percent, and of pasta products by 20 percent compared with sales in the period under review.

The population's higher monetary incomes create higher consumer demand for clothing, domestic equipment and appliances, and construction materials. Despite the increased sales of these goods, the population's demand remains not fully satisfied. The range of goods in short supply has expanded, and now includes school exercise books and other school stationery, young pioneers' uniforms and neckerchiefs, sports clothing and footwear, tobacco products, perfumery products and cosmetics, jewelry, and others. In 12 regions (Kostroma, Orel, Kursk, Tambov, Zaporozhye, Sumy, the Crimean, and other oblasts) school pupils were supplied with exercise books mainly through the schools, while the trade network sold them on single occasions by coupons.

There has been no change as regards the state of affairs with clothing. A study conducted by statistical organs in more than 420 population centers showed that 87-95 percent of them still experience shortages of fashionable leather footwear and women's and children's pantyhose; 83 percent—of women's boots; 73-76 percent—of children's footwear and men's boots; 67 percent—of towels and men's cotton socks; 63-65 percent—of sports clothing and footwear; and 50 percent of the population centers—of cotton underwear, topcoats, raincoats, coats, suits, and knitted dresses and suits.

In many regions there has been no improvement in supplying the population with timber and construction materials. Some 46-94 percent of the population centers in the study experienced shortages of commercial timber, lumber, cut timber sections, window and door frames, cement, slate, whiting, topcoat and undercoat paints, water-based emulsion paints, ceramic tiles, water and gas pipes, plywood, fiberboard, and chipboard sheets, linoleum, and other materials.

Compared with January-September last year, the average purchase prices for goods in the state and cooperative trade network and on kolkhoz markets (taking into account structural changes in products range and sales outlets) increased as follows: 2-3 percent for sausage and bakery products and fish; 5 percent for fruit; 8 percent for vegetables; 18 percent for potatoes; 2-3 percent for textiles, clothing, knitwear, haberdashery, tobacco products, rugs, and earthenware and china; and 4-6 percent for leather footwear, perfumery products, cosmetics, hosiery, and glassware. Average purchase prices for butter and vegetable oils, milk and dairy products, eggs, meat, and some cultural and consumer and domestic commodities either remained the same or fell somewhat.

The sales of **paid services** to the population during the first 9 months amounted to R50 billion, this being R3.8 billion more than in the corresponding period last year. More than R2 billion (4 percent) of the total volume of paid services is represented by earnings from the sale of timber, construction materials, production waste, and substandard materials to the population. Enterprises and organizations adopted a downward-revised plan for January-September which was fulfilled 101 percent, except by the Azerbaijan SSR (93.9 percent) and the Georgian SSR (95.6 percent). At the same time, the overall fulfillment of the plan set at national economic level was 97.9 percent.

Enterprises and organizations specializing in consumer services to the population sold services worth a total of R9.3 billion, which was 8 percent more than in the same period last year. The plan was fulfilled 104.1 percent. At the same time, the population's demands for services associated with repairs to and construction of apartments (housing), repairs and technical maintenance of privately owned motor transport, television and radio sets, and other services remained unsatisfied.

Housing, social, and cultural construction. Some 841,000 apartments with a total area of 51.9 million square meters were built using state capital investments in January-September. The lag in the fulfillment of the housing program continues to grow. The annual plan fulfillment level was only 53 percent in the first 9 months. Compared with the corresponding period last year the commissioning of housing fell by 3.5 million square meters. The housing construction situation is worst in the Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Tajik SSR, and Estonian SSR.

The following facilities were commissioned during the first 9 months: General education schools with places for 949,000 pupils, vocational and technical schools with places for 32,200 pupils, preschool institutions with 212,500 places, hospitals with 21,200 beds, polyclinics for 60,500 visits per shift, residential homes for the elderly and disabled with 2,400 places, and clubs and houses of culture with 55,100 places. The level of the annual program's fulfillment was 64 percent for school construction and 18-37 percent for the other aforementioned facilities. Compared with January-September last year, the commissioning of schools declined by 23 percent, that of vocational and technical schools by 35 percent, of preschool institutions by 19 percent, of hospitals by 13 percent, of polyclinics by 9 percent, of residential homes for the elderly and disabled by 47 percent, and of clubs and houses of culture by 22 percent. The situation regarding the commissioning of facilities for social and cultural purposes is most unsatisfactory in the RSFSR, Georgian SSR, and Azerbaijan SSR.

A considerable lag at projects scheduled for commissioning has been allowed to build up by the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions, with 89 percent fulfillment; the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions (91 percent), State Committees for Construction Affairs in the Azerbaijan SSR (74 percent), Kirghiz SSR and Armenian SSR (80 percent each), Turkmen SSR and Estonian SSR (82 percent each), and Georgian SSR and Tajik SSR (87 percent each), and the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Construction (82 percent).

Set targets for the commissioning of social sphere projects in the earthquake-stricken rayons of the Armenian SSR are being breached. The January-September proportion of the annual target for commissioning of housing, schools, preschool institutions, polyclinics, clubs, and houses of culture funded from state capital investments in these rayons has been fulfilled 0.4-6.4 percent.

Public education. The country has 44 million pupils in general education schools, including 5 million in the first grade, of whom over 40 percent are 6-year-olds. One pupil in four is studying on a second-shift basis, and the figure is one in three in the Central Asian republics. Over 109,000 pupils are studying on a third-shift basis. There is a high proportion of third-shift pupils in schools in the Kirghiz SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, and Armenian SSR.

There are 4 million pupils in secondary specialized education establishments, and there are 5 million students. Higher education establishments [VUZ's] have enrolled 0.6 million students for daytime courses, 2 percent less than in 1988. Competition at entrance examinations comprised on average 236 applicants for every 100 places, including 475 applicants for VUZ's training specialists in the legal sphere, 399 for arts and cinematography, 352 for economics, 174 for construction, and 173 for communications.

As of 1 September 7,000 daytime vocational and technical schools had enrolled about 1.4 million (78 percent of the plan) young men and women who will train in vocations necessary for work in all sectors of the national economy. According to the results of a poll questionnaire, 46 percent had chosen their future vocation independently, 30 percent on advice from their parents or friends, 11 percent had consulted schools and production training combines, 1 percent had received help from population employment bureaus, and 12 percent of those polled gave other sources of advice in their choice of vocation.

Crime. A total of 1.6 million crimes have been recorded in the country since the beginning of the year, which is 437,000 or 33 percent more than in the corresponding period last year. One in every seven recorded crimes was serious. The growth rate of serious crimes was 4.4 times higher than the growth rate of crimes posing no major social danger. One in every three recorded crimes remains unsolved.

Crime has increased virtually everywhere, but especially in the Estonian SSR with 76 percent, the Lithuanian SSR with 52 percent, the Kirghiz SSR with 40 percent, the Armenian SSR with 39 percent, the Belorussian SSR with 37 percent, the Turkmen SSR with 36 percent, and the Ukrainian SSR with 35 percent.

There was an 83-percent rise in robberies and a 77-percent rise in robberies with violence, with 70,300 and 14,200 recorded cases respectively. Thefts of citizens' private property increased by 65 percent, including a 50-percent rise in thefts from apartments. There was a 34-percent increase in crimes involving embezzlement of state or public property (including petty crimes).

There were 15,500 premeditated murders and attempted murders, 37,700 cases of premeditated grievous bodily harm, 16,300 rapes and attempted rapes, the increase against the first 9 months last year being 28 percent, 43 percent, and 23 percent respectively.

Minors were either perpetrators of or accomplices in 148,200 crimes (23-percent growth); previous perpetrators of crimes committed 233,400 crimes (11-percent growth); persons in a state of alcoholic intoxication committed 292,600 crimes (15-percent growth). Some 170,800 group crimes were recorded, being 15 percent more than in the corresponding period last year.

In order to step up the struggle against crime, measures are being implemented to strengthen law-enforcement organs and coordinate their activity through interim committees to combat crime.

Condition of the environment. Compared with the corresponding period last year, emissions of harmful substances in the atmosphere were reduced by 2.8 million tonnes or by almost 7 percent. Emissions of harmful substances were reduced in Irkutsk, Novokuznetsk, and Lipetsk among the industrial centers where the ecological situation is especially tense. At the same time, over 9,000 enterprises increased harmful emissions by more than 1.6 million tonnes.

Cases of high concentration of pollutants in the atmosphere, 10 times or more the permissible norms, were recorded in Arkhangelsk, Yerevan, Volzhskiy, Chelyabinsk, Bratsk, Berezniki, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Dushanbe, and many other cities. This was mainly the fault of enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, and the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry.

One of the causes of high pollution levels is the single emission of harmful substances in the atmosphere by a number of enterprises. For example, a considerable natural gas leak occurred (with subsequent explosion and loss of life) at the Minnibayevo gas-processing plant in the Tatar ASSR. Accidental pollution of the atmosphere also occurred through the fault of the Svetlograd meat combine (Stavropol Kray) and the "Azot" (Kemerovo), "Nairit" (Yerevan), and "Orenburggazprom" Production Associations and others.

Cases of significant pollution of water reservoirs were reported in many regions in the country. Thus, as a result of structural damage caused by heavy rainfall, two fuel oil storage facilities in Sochi released up to 80 tonnes of fuel oil into the sea, resulting in the pollution of the coastline and the closure of beaches from Matsesta to Mamayka. Damage to water-purification installations in Orel and Barnaul resulted in major discharges of polluted effluents into the Oka and Ob Rivers.

Extremely high pollution levels (100 or more times higher than the maximum permissible concentrations of harmful substances in water) were observed on the rivers Nyuduay (Murmansk Oblast), Pyshma and Chusovaya (Sverdlovsk Oblast), Irtysh (Tyumen Oblast), Myshega (Tula Oblast), and Salara (Tashkent Oblast).

State orders for 1989 envisaged the commissioning of 158 environmental protection facilities. Only 10 such facilities were commissioned during the first 9 months.

Scientific and Technical Progress

The state order for the supply of fundamentally new equipment and materials accepted by enterprises and organizations for the period from January through September has been fulfilled 95 percent (in the fuel and energy complex—100 percent, in the metallurgical complex—99 percent, in the chemical and timber complex—95 percent, in the machine building complex—92 percent, and the agro-industrial complex—95 percent); of which, equipment and materials developed in accordance with targeted scientific and technical programs—92 percent, and with intersector scientific and technical complex (MNTK) plans—100 percent. The targets for implementing key scientific research and development work and producing test and experimental models were

fulfilled 100 percent. At the same time, the annual volume of work under the state order has been fulfilled only 27 percent. Of 224 new models of machinery, equipment, and materials, the delivery of 128 has not yet started.

Production of 2,600 new articles has been mastered and started up in the sphere of industry. Consumer goods account for 10 percent of the total number of new types of goods.

New, highly efficient passenger airliners—the Tu-204 and Il-96-300—have been created, as well as a high-speed passenger seagoing vessel which, thanks to a powerful gas-turbine diesel plant, is capable of speeds of up to 80 kilometers per hour, and a portable multifunction apparatus "Bion" for treating shock. Development has been completed and production has begun of a high-speed passenger electric train with improved carriage design, and the first batch of "Vektor 06-Ts" personal computers adapted to interface with domestic radio equipment, and other goods have been produced.

The proportion of new goods in the total output volume of the machine building complex has reached 12.1 percent against 10.2 percent during January-September 1988. Output of the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building enterprises was updated more rapidly on average than at other ministries (15.8 percent).

Between 4 and 21 percent of design-planning work at enterprises and organizations of the machine building complex was carried out with the help of automated design systems which ensure qualitatively new possibilities and reduce the time needed for the development of innovations.

A total of R30 billion in state capital investment was used for the retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises, of which R3.2 billion in the machine building complex, or 6 and 4 percent more, respectively, than during the same period of last year. Enterprises' and organizations' own means accounted for 77 percent of the total volume of capital investments for these purposes.

The establishment of the test and experimental base of scientific research and design-planning organizations and intersector scientific and technical complexes is lagging. Of 41 installations earmarked for commissioning in 1989 under the state order, only 8 have been commissioned during the first 9 months, and only 53 percent of the annual state capital investment quota has been used.

In comparison with January-September 1988, 44 percent fewer rotary and rotary-conveyor lines have been installed at enterprises of the machine building complex (the actual figure of lines commissioned is 27), 43 percent fewer industrial robots (496), and 13 percent fewer metal-cutting machine tools with digital program control (2,847). The volumes of the introduction of processing centers and technological laser installations remained at the same level as during the corresponding period last year (396 and 24).

In the fuel and energy complex, nuclear power stations accounted for 12.3 percent of the total output of electricity (against 12.9 percent during January-September 1988). The proportion of coal mined by the open-cut method increased to 44.1 percent against 43.2 percent during the corresponding period last year. The volume of petroleum extracted with the help of modern thermal and physical-chemical methods to enhance the seam yield remains insignificant, and new systems for the development of low-yield oil deposits by means of horizontal boreholes and deep-penetration hydraulic fracturing of the seam have not found widespread application.

In the metallurgical complex the production of rolled metal sheet and heat-treated rolled metal has decreased in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. The production of cold-rolled metal sheet has increased by 2 percent. The production of steel by means of the continuous teeming method accounted for 18.1 percent of the total output of steel against 17.6 percent during the first 9 months of 1988, and the production of oxygen-converter and electric steel accounted for 46.5 percent and 45.9 percent respectively.

In the chemical and timber complex the proportion of synthetic fibers and yarns in the volume of output of chemical fibers and yarns, and the proportion of motor vehicle radial tires in the total tire output has increased. The degree of petroleum processing has increased slightly.

In the construction complex the proportion of cement produced from clinker obtained by means of the resource-saving "dry" method totaled 18.1 percent (17.5 percent in January-September 1988).

In general-purpose railroad transport the proportion of electric traction in the total freight turnover during the 9-month period constituted 63.5 percent against 63.1 percent during the corresponding period of last year.

A total of 11 scientific discoveries in the sphere of physics, chemistry, biology, and medicine, and 63,000 inventions have been entered in the state registers.

The targets for savings of key types of material, fuel, and energy resources have been fulfilled. At the same time enterprises and organizations of many ministries and departments did not fully achieve in the expenditure norms the volume of savings based on the annual quota, while individual enterprises exceeded the expenditure norms.

Losses of material resources have not been reduced. As a result of the use of equipment at less than full capacity and the infringement of technological operating conditions alone, some 3 million tonnes of energy resources (in standard fuel equivalent) have been overexpended in the national economy during the 9-month period;

machine building and metal processing enterprises have during this period overexpended some 200,000 tonnes of rolled ferrous metal, more than 30,000 tonnes of steel pipes, and some 80,000 tonnes of cast pig iron and steel, of which 50 percent was due to substandard output and replacement of other materials by metal.

During the period under review more than 100 million gigacalories of secondary thermal resources and around 30 million tonnes (in standard fuel equivalent) of secondary fuel resources have been utilized at industrial enterprises.

Industry

Contract discipline in industry deteriorated in the 3d quarter in comparison with the first 6 months of the current year. Commitments for the delivery of output in line with the state order and direct agreements with consumers were fulfilled 98.7 percent in January-September against 99.3 percent in the first 6 months of the year. Contractual discipline was breached by 21 percent of enterprises and associations, whose deliveries of goods to consumers fell short by R7.2 billion.

The biggest lag in the fulfillment of delivery commitments has been incurred by enterprises in the chemical and timber complex (contractual commitments have been fulfilled 98.1 percent, the shortfall in the delivery of goods totaled R1.5 billion), and in the metallurgical complex (the figures, respectively, are 98 percent and R1.2 billion). In these complexes 45 percent and 46 percent of enterprises, respectively, failed to cope with their commitments. The level of contractual commitment fulfillment in industry is low in the Armenian SSR (96.2 percent), Moldavian SSR (97.4 percent), Azerbaijan SSR (97.6 percent), and Georgian SSR (97.7 percent).

As of 11 October, enterprises of 17 ministries, concerns, and associations which produce goods mainly for production purposes had concluded contracts for R234 billion, or 73 percent of the output volume subject to deliveries by the enterprises under their 1990 plans (contracts equivalent to 81 percent had been concluded by this date last year).

The industrial output growth rate decreased in the 3d quarter in comparison with the first 6 months of the year. Output growth for the quarter totaled 1 percent against 2.7 percent in January-June. In September output increased only by 0.3 percent. The production of industrial output in many union republics decreased in comparison with September of last year. Production decreased most in the Azerbaijan SSR—by 9.9 percent, and in the Moldavian SSR—by 10.8 percent, largely due to strikes. In the Tajik SSR and Turkmen SSR it was a result mainly of the underutilization of cotton ginning industry capacities in connection with the late ripening of the cotton. In the Armenian SSR it was due both to the consequences of the earthquake and massive shortfalls in the delivery of freight because of the disruption of railroad transport.

The production of industrial output during the 9 months of 1989 increased by 2.2 percent, and average daily output increased by 2.9 percent. Group "A" industry output increased by 1.2 percent, and Group "B" output by 5.2 percent in this period.

Labor productivity increased by 3.6 percent during the 9-month period, which was lower than the growth rate for the first 6 months (4.1 percent). The entire increase in industrial output was secured thanks to higher labor productivity with an absolute reduction in manpower.

The profits plan was exceeded by 7.2 percent; profit increased by 4.1 percent, or R4 billion, in comparison with the corresponding period last year.

Data on industry's performance in January-September 1989 by union republics is cited below (in percentages): [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Percentage fulfillment of contractual commitments for output deliveries"; Column B—"Output not delivered to consumers, million rubles"; Column C—"Proportion of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments"; Column D—"Actual output volume (work, services) growth rate"; Column E—"Actual labor productivity growth rate"]:

	A	B	C	D	E
RSFSR	98.7	4.5	22	1.6	3.5
		billion			
Ukrainian SSR	98.8	1,305	20	2.9	4.3
Belorussian SSR	99.0	39	7	4.7	5.0
Uzbek SSR	98.8	177	19	5.4	4.9
Kazakh SSR	99.2	161	14	2.7	3.4
Georgian SSR	97.7	176	26	1.3	4.2
Azerbaijan SSR	97.6	199	25	0.4	3.5
Lithuanian SSR	99.5	42	8	3.7	5.3
Moldavian SSR	97.4	162	34	3.3	3.5
Latvian SSR	99.0	61	19	2.1	5.0
Kirghiz SSR	99.1	35	23	5.1	6.6
Tajik SSR	98.4	53	26	2.4	2.6
Armenian SSR	96.2	204	33	-11.0	-4.8
Turkmen SSR	98.1	53	17	4.3	4.5
Estonian SSR	99.4	21	8	0.5	2.9

During the 9-month period more than R30 billion worth of technical-production purpose output was sold by supply and marketing organizations on the basis of wholesale trade, and more than R40 billion worth by industrial enterprises on the basis of free sales.

The work of national economic complexes in January-September 1989 is characterized by the following figures (in percentages): [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries"; Column B—"Output not supplied to consumers, million rubles"; Column C—"Proportion of enterprises failing to meet contract commitments";

Column D—"Fulfillment of profits plan"; Column E—"Actual output volume (work, services) growth rate"; Column F—"Actual labor productivity growth rate"]:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Fuel and energy complex	98.5	603	39	104	-0.4	1.7
Machine building complex	98.6	1007	42	107	3.5	8.1
Metallurgical complex	99.0	1164	46	106	0.6	2.6
Chemical and timber complex	98.1	1512	45	109	1.9	3.6
Agro-industrial complex	99.3	821	14	110	3.5	5.1
Union republic ministries of light industry	99.3	494	19	110	2.0	5.2
Construction complex (construction materials industry)	97.8	348	36	110	1.7	4.7

No improvement has taken place in starting up new capacities. According to the findings of an investigation, the average level of utilization of capacities commissioned or reconstructed during the last 2 years is just over 70 percent. No output has been produced at a number of production installations such as the Kokand construction materials combine or the new facilities commissioned in 1988 at the Poti clothing and knitwear factory.

This situation is largely the result of a lack of a coordination in the commissioning of interdependent enterprises and the construction of new installations without ensuring their provision with raw materials, manpower, and sociocultural facilities.

As a result of the unsatisfactory utilization of production capacities, production losses at the installations surveyed alone totaled more than R1 billion over the 9 months.

At enterprises of the **fuel and energy complex** extraction of petroleum, including gas condensate, decreased by 12 million tonnes and of coal by 24 million tonnes, of which coking coal by 9 million tonnes, in comparison with January-September of last year. The increase in gas extraction (21 billion cubic meters) achieved during the 9-month period does not compensate for the reduction in the extraction of coal and petroleum.

The situation is especially alarming in the coal industry. In September the coal extraction plan was fulfilled 95 percent, which is a shortfall of 3 million tonnes. This includes coking coal—for which the corresponding figures are 97 percent and 414,000 tonnes. Around 50 percent of all coal extraction associations have failed to fulfill their January-September plans.

During the summer, work in a number of the country's mining areas was disrupted, and this affected the work of metallurgists. Frequently coal from stocks was shipped out. Meanwhile, stocks of coking coal at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry sank to the lowest level in the past 4 years, totaling 3.5 million tonnes on 1 October. The shortfall in deliveries of coking coal to the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy under the state order totals 1.9 million tonnes.

Enterprises of the **metallurgical complex** failed to fulfill the January-September state order for the production of finished rolled metal, steel pipes, copper, lead, and zinc.

Targets were not met for the production of high-grade cold-drawn steel (fulfillment constituted 98 percent), high-strength drilling pipes (82 percent) and pumping and compressor station pipes (37 percent), cold-rolled metal strip (99 percent), powder iron (99.3 percent), and a number of other progressive types of metallurgical output.

At enterprises of the **machine building complex** the shortfall in the deliveries of output under contracts more than doubled in the 3d quarter in comparison with the first 6 months of the year.

Enterprises failed to fulfill the January-September plans in respect of many types of machine-building output. The actual output for this period was 10 percent below the plan, and even more in respect of turbines and machines for the continuous casting of blanks; 6-8 percent in respect of petroleum equipment and excavators; 4-5 percent in respect of rolling equipment and AC electric motors. As a result a great lag has built up in the fulfillment of annual plans.

A substantial reduction in the production of individual types of output has been allowed to occur in comparison with the level achieved during the corresponding period of last year. The production of AC electric motors, for instance, has decreased by 5 percent, of excavators by 14 percent, and of petroleum equipment by 13 percent.

With 75.2 percent of the annual worktime expended, the annual targets for the production of petroleum and gas processing equipment have been fulfilled 67 percent in the first 9 months of the year, with the corresponding figure for large electrical machinery and computerized forging and pressing machines being 68 percent.

The work of the **timber and chemical complex** deteriorated in the third quarter. On the basis of the results of work in the first 9 months of the year consumers failed to receive output worth R1.5 billion, including output worth R880 million in the 3d quarter. Compared with the first half of the year the lag in the production of sulfuric acid increased by 0.5 million tonnes and amounts to 0.9 million tonnes since the beginning of the year. The corresponding figures were 149,000 and 283,000 tonnes for soda ash, 62,000 and 100,000 tonnes for caustic soda, 2.9 million and 3.6 million cubic meters for commercial timber, and 29,000 and 43,000 tonnes for commercial pulp. The entire lag since the beginning of the year in the production of lumber (0.6 million cubic meters) and cardboard (32,500 tonnes) has come about in the 3d quarter. Production of a number of progressive

structural materials—polystyrene and styrene copolymers, PVC resin and copolymers of vinyl chloride, polyethylene, and thermosoftening plastic pipes and pipeline parts—has been below the plan targets.

The work of chemical and timber complex enterprises has also been affected by the ending of the production of a number of highly important types of output at certain production facilities at the decision of the leading organs of union republics, oblasts, and cities in connection with the deterioration in the ecological situation.

The work of enterprises in the **construction complex industry** deteriorated in the 3d quarter. Whereas in the first half of the year the targets for the production of slate and asbestos cement pipes were overfulfilled, on the basis of the results of work for the first 9 months of the year deliveries to the national economy fell short by 33 million standard slate tiles and 1,400 kilometers of asbestos cement pipes. The lag in the production of soft roofing and insulation materials increased. The set targets were not fulfilled for the production of prefabricated reinforced concrete articles and structures (96 percent), panels and other structures for large-panel housing construction (94 percent), and prefabricated buildings (modules) made out of light metal structures (88 percent).

Agro-Industrial Complex

In the first 9 months of the year food products worth R104.2 billion in retail prices were produced, which is R3.2 billion or 3.2 percent more than the same period last year.

The union republics' production of **food goods** (excluding alcoholic beverages) is characterized by the following figures (in retail prices, millions of rubles):

	Produced in Jan-Sep 1989	Percentage fulfillment of plan	Jan-Sep 1989 as a percentage of Jan-Sep 1988
RSFSR	44,238	105	104.1
Ukrainian SSR	20,280	104	104.8
Belorussian SSR	4,636	103	102.6
Uzbek SSR	2,852	103	102.9
Kazakh SSR	3,842	107	105.2
Georgian SSR	1,864	100.1	106.5
Azerbaijan SSR	1,112	102	99.1
Lithuanian SSR	2,014	103	100.5
Moldavian SSR	1,597	104	101.1
Latvian SSR	1,575	106	102.3
Kirghiz SSR	851	103	101.4
Tajik SSR	638	104	102.6
Armenian SSR	616	104	91.1
Turkmen SSR	468	104	104.2
Estonian SSR	1,105	105	101.4

Actual production of foodstuffs totaled 69 percent of the annual plan against a 75.2 percent expenditure of the annual amount of worktime in the first 9 months of the year. This lag is assessed at R9 billion.

Fall field work is coming to an end. However, harvesting, purchases of agricultural produce, and the replenishment of feed resources have been conducted at a lower pace than was the case last year in many areas. As of 2 October grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been reaped on an area of 99.5 million hectares (94 percent of the sown area), sunflowers had been harvested on 2.8 million hectares (65 percent), and sugar beets (for processing) lifted on 1.6 million hectares (49 percent). Vegetables have been harvested on an area of 0.7 million hectares out of 1.2 million hectares, and potatoes lifted on 2.2 million hectares out of 2.5 million hectares of sown area.

The state orders for grain purchases are being fulfilled unsatisfactorily. As of 2 October they had been fulfilled by 60 percent on RSFSR farms, by 35 percent on Kazakh SSR farms, by 43 percent on Uzbek SSR farms, and by 59 percent on Moldavian SSR farms.

At the start of October 10,398,000 tonnes of potatoes, or 4 percent more than in the same period last year, had been purchased. Purchases of vegetables totaled 11,689,000 tonnes, or 7 percent less, purchases of watermelons and melons totaled 1,820,000 tonnes or 24 percent less, purchases of sugar beet totaled 44.8 million tonnes or 8 percent less, and purchases of cotton fiber totaled 818,000 tonnes or 38 percent less than in the same period last year.

Vegetable purchases fell in most union republics (except the Azerbaijan and Turkmen SSR's), which created a tense situation in supplying the population with these products. Vegetable purchases fell by 36 percent in the Georgian SSR, by 20 percent in the Lithuanian and Kazakh SSR's, by 16 percent in the Latvian SSR, and by 14 percent in the Kirghiz SSR. Total purchases of cucurbits have fallen sharply in a number of union republics this year, not least in the Moldavian SSR—by 64 percent, the Ukrainian SSR—by 62 percent, the Georgian SSR—by 57 percent, and the Tajik SSR—by 46 percent. Fewer potatoes were purchased than last year on farms in seven union republics (the RSFSR and the Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Kirghiz, and Turkmen SSR's).

As of 2 October winter crops had been sown on 33.7 million hectares, or 2.3 million hectares fewer than at the same date last year. Considerable lags had been permitted on farms in the RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Moldavian, Kirghiz, and Turkmen SSR's.

In the first 9 months of the year kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises produced 16.4 million tonnes of meat (live weight)—or 2 percent more than in the same period last year—and 69.8 million tonnes of milk (2 percent more). At the same time, growth rates in the production of livestock products were far lower than the

rates in 1988 and allow for no diminution in the tense supply situation regarding meat and dairy products for the population. Meat production fell by 7 percent on agricultural enterprises in the Latvian SSR, by 3 percent in the Lithuanian SSR, by 2 percent in the Tajik SSR, by 1 percent in the Azerbaijan SSR, and by 0.3 percent in the Moldavian SSR. Milk production fell by 13 percent on farms in the Armenian SSR, by 4 percent in the Georgian SSR, by 1 percent in the Estonian and Azerbaijan SSR's, and by 0.4 percent in the Belorussian SSR.

Purchases of livestock products on all categories of farms totaled:

	1988	Jan-Sep 1989	1989 as a percentage of 1988
Livestock and poultry (live weight), million tonnes	16.8	17.0	101
Milk, million tonnes	62.3	63.2	101
Eggs, billions	43.7	41.8	96

In comparison with the same period last year livestock and poultry purchases fell by 7 percent in the Latvian SSR, by 3 percent in the Lithuanian SSR, by 1 percent in the Tajik SSR, by 0.9 percent in the Azerbaijan SSR, and by 0.6 percent in the Belorussian SSR; milk purchases fell by 16 percent in the Armenian SSR, by 4 percent in the Georgian and Azerbaijan SSR's, by 3 percent in the Estonian SSR, by 0.8 percent in the Belorussian SSR, and by 0.3 percent in the Latvian SSR; egg purchases fell in all union republics except the Kirghiz and Turkmen SSR's. In many parts of the country the quality of livestock purchased continues to be poor, which leads to considerable losses of meat resources. In the first half of the year alone animals in below-average and scrawny condition accounted for 11 percent of total purchases of cattle, 24 percent of purchases of sheep and goats, and 3 percent of purchases of inferior hogs by meat combines.

At 1 October kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises had 93.2 million head of cattle (or 1.3 million head fewer than at the same date last year), 28.4 million cows (0.2 million head fewer), 61 million hogs (0.4 million more), 120.2 million sheep and goats (3.3 million fewer), and 811.9 million head of poultry (12.6 million more).

The largest reduction in cattle herds occurred on farms in the Armenian, Georgian, and Tajik SSR's; the largest reductions in hog herds occurred in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's; and reductions in sheep and goat numbers occured on farms in all union republics apart from the Moldavian and Turkmen SSR's. The reductions in livestock numbers have not been offset by any increase in animal productivity, which may in the future lead to the reduced output of livestock products.

As of 2 October 133.8 million tonnes of feed units, or 15.2 quintals per standard head of livestock, had been procured. This is less than had been procured at the same date last year (the total figure was 135.2 million tonnes, or 15.3 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock). Farms in 12 union republics with the exception of the RSFSR and the Latvian and Estonian SSR's have procured less feed per standard head of livestock than last year. The feed supply situation on farms in the Armenian, Azerbaijan, Georgian, Uzbek, and Moldavian SSR's, and a number of other republics is particularly tight.

Supplies of agricultural machines and other equipment to the agro-industrial complex have deteriorated this year. In the first 9 months of the year 30,800 fewer tractors, 2,200 fewer excavators, 4,000 fewer grain-harvesting combines, 3,000 fewer silage- and feed-harvesting combines, 1,600 fewer cotton-harvesting machines, and 2,000 fewer potato-lifting combines have been delivered than was the case in the same period last year.

The supplier plants are not fulfilling their contractual commitments to deliver agricultural equipment. In the first 9 months of the year union republic state agro-industrial committees have found themselves short of more than 3,000 grain-harvesting combines, around 2,000 corn-harvesting combines and cotton-harvesting and grain-cleaning machines, 600 potato-lifting combines, and 500 haulm feed crushers and grinders.

The main reasons for the failure to supply this equipment lie with the refusal by many enterprises to conclude contracts with consumers, the failure of supplier plants to fulfill their production targets, and the lack of rolling stock for shipment purposes.

Some 19.7 million tonnes of mineral fertilizer (in 100 percent nutrient equivalent) have been supplied to agriculture under contractual commitments, which is 1.4 million tonnes fewer than in the same period last year.

R45 billion in capital investment, or 72 percent of the annual limit, has been used from all sources of financing to develop the agro-industrial complex, including sectors providing agriculture with the means of production.

The construction of projects has been particularly slow in the Georgian SSR, where 49 percent of the annual limit has been used; the Turkmen SSR, where the figure is 58 percent; the Azerbaijan SSR, where the figure is 55 percent; and the Moldavian and Tajik SSR's, where the figure is 61 percent.

A large number of stockraising facilities for livestock and poultry stabling, silage and haylage installations, and hay storage facilities have been built. Around 16,000 kilometers in intrafarm metaled roads have been commissioned. Storage facilities able to store 800,000 tonnes of potatoes, fruit, and vegetables at any one time have been commissioned. However, the 9-month plan for the construction of storage facilities has not been fulfilled on the whole. Such facilities have not been commissioned by Tula, Astrakhan, Sverdlovsk, Zaporozhye, Zhitomir, Kiev, Karaganda, Brest, and other Oblasts.

R3.5 billion in capital investment has been assimilated in processing sectors as against an annual limit of R6 billion (58 percent). At the 9-month stage the state order stipulated the commissioning of 80 facilities (including those carried over from 1988), whereas in actual fact 54 have been commissioned. The greatest lag has occurred in the construction of enterprises and facilities for the production of whole-milk products, cheese, and canned fruit and vegetables, elevators, and milling and mixed-feed enterprises. There have also been considerable lags in the construction of sociocultural and consumer projects.

Capital Construction

The program of projects scheduled for completion in 1989 is in danger of being undermined. The state orders set for the first 9 months of the year with regard to the commissioning of production capacity have not been fulfilled. Only 108 projects included in state orders have been commissioned. Before the year's end it will be necessary to commission 457 projects, or 81 percent of the annual target.

There have been considerable delays over the construction of 68 state-order projects carried over from last year. These include coal-mining capacity at the "Sibirginskiy" Open Cut, continuous billet-casting capacity at the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine in Kemerovo Oblast, agricultural machinery production capacity at the Tula Combine Plant, cement capacity at the Bryansk Cement Plant, linoleum capacity at the "Stroyplastmass" Combine in Karaganda, sanitary ceramic article capacity at the Tselinograd Ceramics Combine, and others.

The development of the construction industry's production base is lagging behind. The targets for the commissioning of capacities for the production of progressive construction materials have not been ensured. In the first 9 months capacity has been commissioned for the production of 14 of the 23 such materials stipulated by the targets for 1989.

The plans for the construction and restoration of enterprises in earthquake-stricken rayons of the Armenian SSR have not been fulfilled. Not a single production project has been commissioned in the first 9 months of the year and restoration work on many buildings has not been started, mainly due to a lack of design estimate documentation, the untimely allocation of tracts of land, and delivery shortfalls of basic construction materials.

The commissioning of **fixed capital** financed by state centralized capital investment and resources from enterprise and organization funds amounted to R83.7 billion, or 45 percent of the annual target (total of enterprise and organization plans). R2.4 billion less fixed capital was commissioned in comparison with the same period last year.

In order to fulfill the state orders it will be necessary in the 3 remaining months to ensure the entire annual commissioning of capacity for coal mining and enrichment, the coking of heavy petroleum residues, the smelting of oxygen-converter and electric-furnace steel, and the production of rolled ferrous metals, efficient light metal structures, and almost all kinds of machine-building capacity, as well as 91 percent of knitwear production capacity and more than 70 percent of footwear and finished fabric production capacity.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the commissioning of production and social projects has largely been brought about by the continuing dissipation of funds on numerous construction and other projects—which makes it harder to supply them in good time with material, technical and labor resources—by shortcomings in the organization of construction, and by the fall in the level of discipline and responsibility shown by the participants in the investment process. As a result, the volume of incomplete construction had reached R204.1 billion at 1 October, which is 15 percent more than at the same date last year.

Some R68.5 billion, or 67 percent of the annual limit, in state centralized **capital investment** was assimilated in January-September. Enterprises and organizations made use of R62.8 billion of their own funds. These funds amount to 48 percent of total capital investment in the national economy—36 percent of total capital investment in the fuel and energy complex, 53 percent in the metallurgical complex, 64 percent in the machine building complex, and 72 percent in the timber and chemical complex.

Transport and Communications

Freight shipments on general-purpose transport are characterized by the following figures:

	Jan-Sep 1989, million tonnes	Jan-Sep 1989 as a percentage of Jan-Sep 1988
All types of transport	9,847	98.4
of which:		
railroad transport	3,007	97.7
pipeline transport	931	100.9
maritime transport	186	94.9
internal waterways transport	593	99.97
motor transport	5,127	98.3
air transport	2.5	98.3

Rail transport coped with the fulfillment of state orders; however, the plan for total freight shipments was 99.3 percent fulfilled. Other types of transport ensured fulfillment of the freight shipment plan: Internal waterways by 101.5 percent, motor transport by 100.8 percent, and maritime transport by 105.3 percent (including 104.1 percent to areas of the Far North and equivalent regions, and 105.4 percent by maritime transport abroad).

Freight shipment targets were not fulfilled by 22 railroads, including the Volga Railroad (94.2 percent), the

Azerbaijan Railroad (94.5 percent), the Moldavian Railroad (96.6 percent), the Kemerovo Railroad (96.8 percent), the Far East Railroad (96.9 percent), the Gorkiy Railroad (97.4 percent), and the Virgin Lands Railroad (97.6 percent); and by motor transport enterprises from the Moldavian SSR (97.5 percent), the Latvian SSR (98.4 percent), the Georgian SSR (99.3 percent), and the RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport (99.7 percent). The targets for shipments to regions of the Far North and equivalent regions were not fulfilled by the Kamchatka Shipping Company (95.3 percent), and targets for shipments abroad were not fulfilled by the Novorossiysk Shipping Company (96.4 percent) and the Northern Shipping Company (99.9 percent).

Out of the 14 items of freight on the state orders itemized product list rail transport failed to fulfill the shipments plan as follows: By 5.3 percent for fertilizers, by 3.6 percent for fusing agents, by 1.4 percent for iron and manganese ore, by 1.3 percent for timber, and by 0.6 percent for oil and oil products. Coal shipments in January-September amounted to 581 million tonnes, or 99.4 percent of the plan. Some 21.7 million tonnes, or 3.6 percent less, coal was shipped than in the same period last year.

In the 3d quarter of 1989 the work of rail transport deteriorated. The amount of freight standing in loading yards and not shipped by rail transport at 1 September had increased by 22 percent compared with the same date last year and was equivalent to 9.6 railroad working days. The corresponding figures were 420 percent and 4.7 days for mixed feed, 160 percent and 10.2 days for metal structures, 80 percent and 2.5 days for ferrous metals, 51 percent and 11.5 days for iron and manganese ore, 42 percent and 11.8 days for cement, 25 percent and 13.3 days for coal, and 20 percent and 17.7 days for refractory materials. The deterioration in the work of rail transport was influenced by the low level of operational work and by the strikes by workers in various national economic sectors.

The situation with regard to rail shipments of imported goods from maritime ports remains tense. As of 1 October there were 1.9 million tonnes of such goods in port (at warehouses and aboard ship), including 411,000 tonnes of bulk grain in ships, 81,000 tonnes each of packaged grain and sugar, and 35,000 tonnes of perishable goods. The largest amounts of imported bulk grain in ships have built up in the ports of Odessa—153,000 tonnes; Novorossiysk—81,000 tonnes, and Leningrad—68,000 tonnes. The plan for the provision of cars to unload these cargoes from the aforesaid ports was fulfilled in September by 96, 39, and 72 percent respectively. This is leading to ships lying idle in ports and to losses of foreign exchange.

In January-September the volume of car traffic fell and there were increased stoppages of cars (car turnover slowed by 4.3 percent as against the same period last year) particularly on the North Caucasus Railroad (16.4 percent), the Baltic Railroad (11.7 percent), the Azerbaijan Railroad (10.8 percent), the Volga Railroad (10.3 percent), the Odessa Railroad (9.7 percent), the Moldavian Railroad (9.5 percent), the Transbaykal Railroad (6.1 percent), the Southeast and Sverdlovsk Railroads (5.6 percent), and the Dnepr Railroad (5.0 percent).

Enterprises under the jurisdiction of a number of ministries and departments delayed unloading the cars sent to them. As of 30 September the number of unloaded cars compared with the same date last year had increased by 230 percent for USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry enterprises, by 220 percent for enterprises under the RSFSR Ministry of the River Fleet, by 27 percent for union republic state agro-industrial committees, by 190 percent for enterprises in Maritime Kray, by 160 percent for enterprises in Novosibirsk Oblast, by 140 percent for enterprises in Kemerovo Oblast, by 50 percent for enterprises in Astrakhan Oblast, by 40 percent for enterprises in Irkutsk Oblast, by 18.7 percent for enterprises in Leningrad Oblast, by 23.9 percent for enterprises in Donetsk Oblast, by 200 percent for enterprises in the Armenian SSR, and by 90 percent for enterprises in Guryev Oblast. In Moscow the figure fell by 11 percent.

The number of rail accidents and people hurt in them increased. The number of people killed on highways and streets alone in January-September increased by 24 percent compared with the same period last year and amounted to 41,500 people. The number of people killed by drunk drivers increased by 29 percent to 8,700.

General-purpose passenger transport carried 41.7 billion people, or 99.9 percent of the figure for the same period last year. **Passenger traffic** increased by 0.8 percent and totaled 865.1 billion passenger-kilometers; air passenger traffic increased by 6.6 percent and totaled 178.1 billion passenger-kilometers. Motor transport passenger traffic fell by 0.2 percent and totaled 362.5 billion passenger-kilometers, and rail passenger traffic fell by 1 percent and totaled 317.9 billion passenger-kilometers. The rail transport plan was 98.4 percent fulfilled, and the air transport plan was 103.7 percent fulfilled.

Rail transport is not fully meeting the population's demand for travel. In August 1989, according to a poll of more than 4,000 people, 18 out of every 100 passengers were unable to book tickets in advance for trains (apart from local trains). The time lost by the population through standing in line at railroad station advance booking windows amounted to around 26 million man-days per year.

A similar survey into air transport conducted in September showed that 17 out of 100 citizens were unable to get tickets. Losses of time amounted to around 12 million man-days per year.

Violations of the scheduled arrival time of passenger trains continued to occur. In January-August 14.8 percent of trains (excluding local trains), 13.3 percent of

flights, 6.6 percent of buses, and 1.2 percent of riverboats and lake ferries either failed to arrive owing to cancellation or were delayed.

Communications enterprises failed to supply the population with services worth R2.9 billion, or 9 percent more than in the same period last year. The plan was 103.9 percent fulfilled.

Foreign Economic Activity

During the period the number of participants in foreign economic relations expanded substantially and stood at around 9,000 as of 1 October.

In the first 9 months of the year output and services worth R49.3 billion were exported, while imports of output and services amounted to R50.4 billion. The country's exports increased by 0.5 percent, while imports increased by 5.1 percent.

Trading imbalances were recorded with the CEMA countries as well as with the capitalist countries.

Trade with the socialist countries, which accounts for 63 percent of the USSR's trade turnover, fell by 1.1 percent: Imports totaled R32.0 billion (a fall of 0.2 percent), while exports totaled R30.8 billion (a fall of 1.9 percent).

Foreign trade turnover with the capitalist countries totaled R36.9 billion—comprising R25.7 billion with the developed capitalist countries and R11.2 billion with developing countries. Imports from capitalist countries grew by 15.8 percent compared with January-September last year.

The annual exports plan was 71 percent fulfilled, while the plan for exports for freely convertible currency was 67 percent fulfilled, out of which the corresponding figures were 82 percent for cast iron exports, 74 percent for commercial timber, 73 percent for ammonia and lumber, 46 percent for machines and equipment, 47 percent for crude oil, 41 percent for gasoline, 36 percent for rolled ferrous metals, 46 percent for potash fertilizers, and 48 percent for cement. The delays in fulfilling the export plan for these goods will lead to a large imbalance in convertible-currency import-export transactions. The annual imports plan was 74 percent fulfilled, while the plan for imports for freely convertible currency was 77 percent fulfilled.

Purchases abroad of food and industrial consumer goods increased. Compared with the same period last year 15 percent more grain, 23 percent more raw sugar, 160 percent more butter, 90 percent more vegetable oil, 4 percent more leather footwear, and 2 percent more articles of knitwear were delivered to the national economy. At the same time, deliveries of goods such as cotton fabrics, sewn goods, domestic furniture, perfumes, and cosmetics remained at last year's level or decreased.

As of 1 October 1989 there were 936 joint enterprises registered on Soviet territory involving the participation of firms and organizations from 53 foreign countries, including 9 socialist countries, 24 developed capitalist countries, and 20 developing countries.

The results of the country's socioeconomic development in the first 9 months of this year show that in the 4th quarter labor collectives in all sectors of the national economy must considerably increase their work and enhance their responsibility for the fate of the 1989 plan.

Scientific

Earthquake Hits Armenia; No Damage, Casualties

LD3110173689 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Yerevan October 31 TASS—An earthquake hit Armenia at 15:34 local time [1234 GMT] today. Its epicenter was eight kilometers outside the District Centre of Gukasyan in the region that was devastated by the earthquake last December.

The earthquake headquarters in the Armenian Academy of Sciences reported that the tremor measures 5 to 5.5 points on the 12-point scale.

No casualties or damage have been reported.

Booster Rockets To Be Launched in Pacific 1-6 Nov

LD2710190389 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The launchings of booster rockets will be carried out in the Soviet Union in the period of November 1 to November 6 to the Pacific Ocean areas limited by a rectangle with the following coordinates of the vertexes: 30 degrees 30 minutes, northern latitude, and 170 degrees 10 minutes, eastern longitude, 30 degrees 45 minutes, northern latitude, and 171 degrees 30 minutes, eastern longitude, 23 degrees 00 minutes, northern latitude, and 173 degrees 40 minutes, eastern longitude, 22 degrees 45 minutes, northern latitide, and 172 degrees 20 minutes, eastern longitude, by a circumference with a radius of 50 nautical miles and with the centre having these coordinates: 10 degrees 45 minutes, northern latitude, 175 degrees 40 minutes, eastern longitude.

TASS has been authorised to announce that for the purpose of ensuring safety, the Soviet Government requests the governments of other states using sea and air lanes in the Pacific to instruct appropriate bodies that sea and air craft should not call at those areas and air space over them every day between 6:00 and 19:00 local time.

Academician Discusses Past Space Policies

907Q0012A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Academician V. Mishin by A. Tarasov: "Missions Asleep and Awake"; date and place not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Chief designer Korolev-general designer Glushko.... This is the succession usually accepted in the leadership of the space rocket firm now known as the Energiya Scientific-Production Association. But there is one other name that was for many years hidden in the shadows: S.P. Korolev's first deputy and, after his death, leader of the design bureau from 1966 to 1974.... Now, for example, a certain photograph has come to light of the now dead Academician Kurchatov. Next to him we see Academician Korolev, and now the scene expands a little: Kurchatov, Korolev, Keldysh. But in fact there are five people in the photograph: Kurchatov, Korolev, Keldysh, Mishin, and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V.M. Iyevlev. I saw that photograph for the first time in the home of Vasiliy Pavlovich Mishin, academician, Hero of Socialist Labor, Lenin Prize laureate, State Prize laureate, deputy and successor to Korolev in the post of leader of the firm, now a professor at the Moscow Aviation Institute. Vasiliy Pavlovich gave me permission to ask questions, and I ventured to do so....

[Tarasov] It probably does not surprise you that at the ordinary everyday level the following divergent idea enjoys currency: When Korolev died so suddenly that was when we started to fall behind in space research. There were tragedies: The deaths of Komarov, Dobrovolskiy, Volkov, Patsayev.... We lost the moon to the Americans.... And the new chief designer, who had surrendered up "space", was removed for this, after which the successes again started to come....

[Mishin] Nothing surprises me after the fact that up until today my name has not been mentioned in the history of space exploration.... The names of many fine designers still working today were also not mentioned. Sergey Pavlovich Korolev himself became known only after his death, but it is not up to us to judge the correctness or incorrectness of personal assessments. Korolev's obituary, subsequently signed by the leadership, was written by me and sent to Brezhnev at his request. I saw that even then not everyone was willing to have his name made known as the major organizer of our space rocket technology.

So let us leave the purely personal feelings about appointments and dismissals. We are not here indulging in idle talk. If we talk about the main subject, then I would like to share some serious thoughts. First, if Korolev had lived longer we would undoubtedly have gone into space incomparably further. It was not just a question of his energy, persistence, and authority. First and foremost, under him we went our own way and sought out and found our own solutions. Then we started to look at the Americans, were depressed by their example, and started to attempt some immediate successes and were distracted by propaganda advantages.

Second, accidents also happened when Korolev was there. It is most unfortunate that the degree of risk in this field is in general great. It happens that accidents are also associated with professional inaccuracies or carelessness; for example, the explosion in the silo of an oxygen rocket that incinerated six people. The reason? A soldier was unscrewing a light bulb, and there was a short circuit and an explosion. This was a year after Marshal Nedelin and several dozen people had been burned.

If we talk about the two accidents involving the Soyuz vehicle that shook us all, then we would bring up the two systems that flew successfully in Korolev's time. He had a rule: Do not change something that has already flown. If you are doing something new look both ways, seek out different versions, make improvements. The parachute system for Komarov's vehicle was tested repeatedly, but during the mission the braking parachute failed to operate.

[Tarasov] They used to say that his launch was brought forward artificially for the sake of a holiday....

[Mishin] No, that is not true. It was purely the equipment here. Those kinds of trends did creep into the top leadership—for example, D.F. Ustinov—but there was no direct pressure. Indeed, the equipment would not allow it. I remember only once when near the 23d Party Congress a lunar satellite was launched and played the national anthem. We merely put the idea to the chief designer in the design bureau, G.N. Babakin, but they forced him to do it. And well, there was a second satellite—the one launched on the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1957....

But how were things in general? We did not expect such a worldwide response to the first satellite. The idea, incidentally, was Sergey Pavlovich's personally. If it was possible to launch a "chunk of iron" on such a rocket then why not the world's first sputnik? He proposed that it be done on the fifth launch of the "seven"—immediately after the fourth, successful launch. It is common knowledge that the first three were failures. By early October 1957 we had made the sphere in a month, and it flew. After that we disbanded for a break. Korolev, Voskresenskiy, and I with our two deputies, and a group of the main workers from the special design bureau obtained travel authorization. We stayed at Bulganin's big dacha in Sochi.

We rested for exactly 5 days. I was suffering from tonsillitis because of the change in climate, and then we got a telephone call on the VCh [high frequency short wave]. "Fly back urgently. We have been tasked to make a new satellite." So we did. It turned out that Khrushchev had been pleased with the political effect of the first sputnik and he ordered another on a priority basis, and we made it on a priority basis and launched it. Only after that did we go off for a real rest. That was the way in

which ideas were sometimes born, and from them it was necessary to embark on the strategy of the exploration of deep space.

[Tarasov] So that means policy did start to dictate its conditions and limitations on the space program, does it not?

[Mishin] Here, let me return to the third thought that we started with Korolev. This could also have been taken up earlier. Because, as in everything else, in astronautics things started to stagnate and the most superficial and contradictory decisions were dictated. With his decisiveness, independence, and far-sightedness, Korolev tried to oppose them. For this he came into personal conflict with the top leaders. In the final days he simply threw up his hands....

[Tarasov] Vasiliy Pavlovich, we have barely touched on the question. So at that time you were first deputy to Sergey Pavlovich. This was no happenstance. Please tell us about your work with Korolev.

[Mishin] It should not be thought that just because I was Korolev's first deputy, this meant that I was both a very close friend and counselor. With us, everything was with Korolev; we would not speak for weeks because of some technical disagreement. Particularly with his character. But in the main thing, in the desire to create a well-considered strategy for space exploration, we were, I hope, fellow thinkers. No, I probably did not possess the kind of will and sharp tongue that distinguished Korolev. I am prepared to admit that. But in our space situation, the replacement of one character for another and the replacement of leading personalities did not play any decisive role.

What can I say about myself? Up to 1935 I studied in the factory training school at the Central Institute of Aerohydrodynamics and mastered the specialty of fine mechanics fitter. I worked there in the shop on special tasks. Then came paid courses to prepare for the institute and authorization from the Baumanskiy Komsomol rayon committee to enroll in the Moscow Aviation Institute. The authorization required two sponsors with at least 5 years party seniority. It was competitive: five for one place. I graduated as an engineer-mechanic for aircraft munitions. I did my pre-diploma practical work in the special design bureau of the chief aircraft designer, the great designer and innovator and great scientist and teacher Viktor Fedorovich Bolkhovitinov. I was invited to work there. This special design bureau was known for its really pioneering developments—the world's first fighter powered by a "VI-1" liquid rocket engine, which flew for the first time on 15 May 1942 with pilot G. Bakhchivanzdhi at the controls. This was the birth of the new rocket era in aviation. At that time we were working under conditions of evacuation not far from Sverdlovsk at a small half-ruined tube-casting plant that was totally unsuitable for aviation production.... I was also a witness to Grigoriy Bakhchivandzhi's seventh and fatal flight in the "BI-1" on 27 March 1943 when he attained a maximum speed of 970 kilometers per hour (80 percent of the speed of sound) and when the aircraft quite unexpectedly went into a dive and crashed into the ground at the edge of the airfield....

But let us return to rockets. At the end of the war, as is known, when we had already returned to Moscow, the army of General Kurochkin captured a testing ground in Debica near Warsaw with launch facilities for the V-2. The Germans had cleaned up their traces, but in places where they had fallen, bits of the rockets nevertheless remained, some parts of the structures destroyed in the dense layers of the atmosphere. They were delivered to our NII-1. A group was organized that included Isayev, Bereznyak, Pilyugin, Chertok, Voskresenskiy, Tikhopravovyy and others, and myself. We quickly traced out from the pieces the layout of the rockets and the pneumatic systems, and calculated trajectories; our mathematician, Yuriy Konovalov, was outstanding in this task. Unfortunately, both he and a large part of our group, including the NII-1 director, Lieutenant General Fedorov, died on their way to the site: Their aircraft crashed near Kiev.... It was pure chance that I was not aboard. They would not give me clearance because at that time my father was in prison. True, he was not living with us. I was brought up in my childhood by my grandfather.

[Tarasov] So why was he in prison?

[Mishin] Because he was a worker.... He listened to anecdotes. But somehow or other I moved in with the rocket people, and after the war in Germany, when studying German rocket technology and the archives, I met Korolev. Actually I was studying in the archives in Prague, and when I had already written my report and was about to return home I finished up in Berlin instead of Moscow—at Korolev's request. I got to know him late in November 1945.

He suggested that I work with him but I wanted to go home to my wife and two daughters, but I gave in and agreed. This was the task: To restore a full set of documentation from the blueprints found in Prague. Then to work on trajectory questions, organize observations, take pictures with a cine- theodolite.... We returned, and from that time until Korolev's death we worked in the special design bureau. Well, you know that there was a protracted struggle between the aviation people and the "gunners," each trying to push the other away from rocket technology. We started at the remains of a gun factory and we really wondered "can we really make rockets here?" Then we got our own Ministry of General Machine Building.

[Tarasov] How did you take your leave of Korolev?

[Mishin] In a very ordinary way, by telephone. For no one was expecting the outcome. On 5 January Sergey Pavlovich was to have his operation and I had remained behind to cover for him. On 7 January after the accountability report in the ministry collegium, the minister,

Afanasayev, gave our firm a good dressing down. After the collegium meeting, Korolev telephoned:

"What are you doing?"

"Writing the report. It is hard enough to work with you, but with him there is no way."

"Tear up the report," he responded, "ministers come and ministers go, but we stay in our own business."

He made another, quite ordinary, everyday call before the operation. And then... it was a shock for all of us....

[Tarasov] At what level were you appointed chief?

[Mishin] At the same level at which I was removed. With this difference: When I was appointed Brezhnev received me and listened to me, but when I was fired he did not. In general, I was not too eager for the post. A group of Korolev's co-workers sent at letter to the Central Committee at that time asking that I be appointed. That is what they told me. True, there were later other letters but that is how it is here.

[Tarasov] Forgive me, Vasiliy Pavlovich, was your dismissal in fact connected with the run of accidents? What was your own attitude here?

[Mishin] What can one's attitude be toward misfortune, the loss of remarkable and brave people, to the great pain of their nearest and dearest? I still have a vivid memory of how Yuriy Gagarin wept in the aircraft after Komarov's death. It was a real blow, for when we were flying to the landing site we were convinced that Volodya was sitting comfortably because they had reported from the helicopter that they had seen the parachute deploy, and the soft landing.

It was even more painful when tragedy could have been prevented. The only time that the valve failed to operate normally—the explosive bolts used for the separation produced an overload and the ball joint was displaced from its seating. The cosmonauts heard the air whistling in and Patsayev unbuckled and tried to block it with his finger, but he failed. But there was a manual drive—they could have protected the capsule. But they forgot, or did not know, or it had been omitted during training....

The mission was very complex. I had complicated conversations with Volkov and he said that he was the crew commander. A cable caught fire and the lads lost their heads and wanted to land, and I calmed them down. They made it through to the end of that program... and then in those terrible minutes....

[Tarasov] But was not the main mistake that the cosmonauts had removed their pressure suits?

[Mishin] I believe now that even if they had donned their suits it would have done no good. It was not even a question of reliability. Before the pressure suits were removed there had been about a thousand successful landings of recovery vehicles, up to the time that the soft-landing motor appeared, and crews had become accustomed to landing inside the vehicle. I think that this decision of Korolev was right, and afterward there was no need to think about improving personal survival aids but rather about the entire apparatus, and collective means. We did have ideas—creating another pressurization loop, having a backup for every gap—everyone knew about them.

[Tarasov] So why was the decision otherwise if you, the chief designer, did not think that way?

[Mishin] A government commission headed by Ustinov decided. In principle the recommendations were right, and further work was done on the design of the valves and separation mechanism. It is common knowledge that on passenger aircraft there are no personal survival aids for either crew or passengers. Here another path is chosen—collective aids and backup systems.

[Tarasov] Vasiliy Pavlovich, it was precisely during "your" years that the Soviet press remained silent about two far-reaching lunar epics—ours and the Americans. Whereas the flow of information about the landing of the astronauts on the moon nevertheless with time did somehow break through, our "lunar people" were right out of luck except for the successes of the automatic Lunokhod. Even last year, a mention of our unsuccessful lunar program was struck out of my articles. Is it really a state secret or a military secret? To the point, did you have a certain attitude toward the printed word in those years? For it later "was at your expense" personally. How were those filtered reports prepared whose essential nature became clear years later?

[Mishin] I do not know, I had no part in that. A special apparatus was set up for that which carried out Ustinov's instructions. True, as one moved around one could hear disputes about the formulations about which some of the technical leaders who were too involved in politics were getting excited. For example, depending on the success of the launch, a space vehicle was said to have been sent "to the moon" or "toward the moon."

[Tarasov] Well for all that, we wanted to fly "to the moon" or "toward the moon." What was the program and how did it come about and disappear?

[Mishin) Well, you know, how is it always in such cases? There is one main reason and thousands of small reasons. Let me begin with the main reason. First of all, we had to know about and have a long-term scientific program for space exploration. Unfortunately we had a mess of separate, individual assignments that pursued either political or prestige goals. This had started even under Khrushchev. "Catch up," "Overtake," "Go, Go."

It was the same with the moon. Neither Mishin alone nor Korolev alone could initiate such a program. We needed the scope of scientific goals and national economic goals. We needed careful work with the involvement of the Academy of Sciences and many departments, and with

sector science; we needed national debate. Then later there was the choice of means to reach the goals.

After the landing of the first lunar and interplanetary automatic vehicles interest fell off for some years. Then when the Americans started talking with greater insistence about the moon and when their national program was proclaimed by President Kennedy and came to life, then we also began to stir ourselves, but somewhere from about 1964, whereas they had started in 1961. But then we were behind not only in time, as everyone now acknowledges, but there was also a shortage of funding. The first successes with sputnik and Gagarin's flight were based largely on a colossal self-sacrifice from people and on the personal qualities of a leader like S.P. Korolev. The Americans with their air bases had no need of missiles, for that kind of race could go on endlessly. We were tired. There were the accidents that we have talked about.

Strictly speaking, the lunar program was made up, as it were, of two independent parts. The first was a circumlunar flyby with a manned vehicle launched by a Proton rocket. The second was the landing of a lunar module with one cosmonaut, then a launch from the moon and a docking with a vehicle where his comrades would be.

We can say that the first part was accomplished. Four automatic probes did circle the moon. Apart from the first, which was a miss. In fact, there were successful returns of recovery vehicles for a two-man crew. Their leading designer was the present leader of the Energiya Scientific-Production Association, Yu.P. Semenov. Two landed in the target area, two splashed down in the Indian Ocean. It would have been possible to switch to manned missions but it lost all propaganda meaning after July 1969 when Neil Armstrong set foot on the moon.

Now about the landing. It was possible only by using a heavy launch vehicle capable of lifting at least 100 tons. That is, equal to today's Energiya. Korolev had been thinking about this kind of launch vehicle since the early 1960's. This was the recently announced N-1 rocket. A general-purpose modular, part multirole rocket that, depending on the choice of modules, could be used for injection of circumterrestrial or interplanetary vehicles.

It had an original and reliable configuration: 30 thruster nozzles in a module, and it could fly if two pairs of motors in the first stage failed and with the failure of one pair in the second stage. The fuel was inexpensive and ecologically clean—kerosene and oxygen—and there were no toxic components.

This launch vehicle held great promise. But here our lack of organization and, unfortunately, our general technical level, were seen. The N-1 was being made by 500 organizations in 26 departments. Of these, only nine fell within the competence of the military-industrial commission. The rest had to be begged for. Resolutions from the Council of Ministers did not help at all: The tasks were just outside their competence and delivery schedules were not met. Under Korolev, for example, on 10 points; under me, by an order of magnitude more. We failed to agree with minister after minister and they made the rounds, and often it ended in checkmate.

But even under these conditions the Kuybyshev people did make seven Vostok's for Korolev, which were mated with the N-1.

But this was not all. The designer, V.P. Glushko, had a jealous and hostile attitude toward the engine developed by the Kuybyshev aviation designer N.D. Kuznetsov, who was cooperating with Korolev. Advancing his own liquid-propellant rocket engine for the Proton, Glushko spoke out against oxygen and kerosene. I still have his monograph in which it is written in black and white: "Liquid oxygen is far from the best oxidizing agent, but liquid hydrogen will never find any practical application."

[Tarasov] How does this relate to Energiya, which under the leadership of that same V.P. Glushko has been developed to fly on oxygen and hydrogen?

[Mishin] This is how. Of course, the error of the future general designer was obvious, and it was not his only one, and it had a bad effect on the fate of the Kuznetsov engine. Each failure resulted in a strong response, but without failures you can get nowhere in this business. The more so under our conditions. Construction of the production base was delayed 2 years. It was skimpy. The Americans were able to test an entire assembled engine module on their test stands and install it on the launch vehicle and fly it without a takedown inspection. But we tested in pieces and did not even dare to think of firing all 30 motors in the first stage as a full assembly. Then the pieces were assembled, without guarantees, of course, that they were properly run in.

Schedules were mercilessly squeezed. In February 1967 flight testing in space was scheduled for the launch vehicle during the second quarter of the same year.

[Tarasov] And the landing itself?

[Mishin] For the third quarter of 1968. These were the schedules laid down in a government decree. Well, in an extreme case, during the last quarter. But we tested the N-1 for the first time only on 21 February 1969. A fire in the after compartment switched off the engine after 70 seconds. I came out of the bunker—it was still flying.... The second launch was on 3 July 1970. Again an accident—an explosion in the oxygen pump when it reached nominal regime. The launch complex was destroyed. The third launch was on 27 July 1971. Because of an unconsidered gas-dynamic factor it started to spin.... But all the engines worked for the first time. But only for 7 seconds. The fourth launch was on 23 November 1972. I was in the hospital and the launch was led by B.Ye. Chertok. He was more successful; the engines ran for 107 seconds. An explosion in the after compartment occurred after the

transfer to the final stage of thrust, at the end of the active part of the first stage.... Just a little bit more....

But we never got it. We found omissions and errors, we eliminated them, we moved ahead. But the Americans had invested 25 billion in the program and they reached the moon. But we had almost 10 times less, and we had to extract each million one by one.

[Tarasov] A competition between Ellochki cannibals and American millionaires?

[Mishin] It was similar. But it ended there. After 1972 we worked on two rockets under a new technical task but they were not launched. The program was halted. Six rockets went under the pile driver, two already assembled. People who had given the best years of their lives to their development and to work on them did this with tears in their eyes. I had already been dismissed.

[Tarasov] But how would things have developed if you had had your way?

[Mishin] First, the very birth of the lunar program should have been not as a race, but for well-considered goals. The USSR Academy of Sciences Lunar Commission did not in any way set those goals. Incidentally, if you noticed, U.S. President Bush recently announced the intention to move on to the development of an industrial and interplanetary lunar base. There you have it: If we had not halted the program we could have had this base already without any anguish or haste. First of all, we would not have lost a heavy launch vehicle that had what I reckon is the best engine in the world, superior to the Saturn-5. Yes, I make no reservations. In those years, Kuznetsov, in his own interests and at his own risk, developed the engine in Kuybyshev and had it running on a test stand for 14,000 seconds. It takes only 150 seconds for injection of the rocket. Thus, there was no need to start Energiya from scratch, where Glushko's side engine, which is oxygen-propelled, costs more than gold does in comparison with Kuznetsov's.

So, while continuing the work on the rocket it was necessary to think about a new lunar expedition. To investigate various scenarios: A one-shot project, two phases (with an orbit of the earth), the use of circumterrestrial and circumlunar orbits for maneuvering, docking, building up the vehicles. For example, the earth stage of a vehicle could be left in a "home" orbit and used to fly to the moon and back. There were many scenarios and we did work on all of them. Then there was the landing and the takeoff of automatic vehicles, then a manned vehicle....

But all of this was divorced from the general concept of space exploration, its real industrialization. In 1974 Kuznetsov and I compiled and sent to L.I. Brezhnev a detailed memorandum about our lagging in the field of space rocket technology and about ways to develop an industrial circumterrestrial complex, and we asked for a meeting. But D.F. Ustinov soon informed us that I had been relieved of my duties and that Brezhnev had thanked me for the work that I had done.

Just look at the groundwork that had already been done at that time: Six space vehicles for the Soyuz-Apollo program ready to go, with the latest docking assembly, for which, incidentally, I hold a certificate of authorship. The Salyut-6 was in the factory with its two docking assemblies, a base for international cooperation in space....

[Tarasov] Incidentally, why was the station not launched immediately with two docking assemblies? Why did we make do with only one for such a long time?

[Mishin] I had immediately proposed that it have both, but again Ustinov insisted on a single assembly—in order to hasten our success. Before the Salyut-6 the line stretched into 1977. In addition, work had already started on the Soyuz-T, which made its debut in 1980. When I was there eight such vehicles had been prepared to various stages, and the unmanned version was ready. This was not pure chance: We wanted to gain experience in various kinds of docking arrangements, assembly and installation of vehicles for the most diverse purposes—from rescue operations to production. And so....

[Tarasov] Vasiliy Pavlovich, is it true that when you came out of the hospital, on the following day V.P. Glushko ordered your pass to the enterprise to be withdrawn?

[Mishin] Yes, that is true.

[Tarasov] Can you tell us how you assess today's developments in space exploration?

[Mishin] Very little has been done about what we thought about and dreamed about 20 years ago, even 30 years ago with Korolev. It is simply vexing that so few useful and efficient space vehicles are in earth orbit. On the one hand there has been an attraction for a variety of launch vehicles that absorb enormous investments. But the various modules of our standard N- 1 could have served Soyuz and Proton and Energiya to inject payloads of 7 to 100 tons. How economically and ecologically better this would have been, particularly when you consider the Proton fuel.

On the other hand, we have become addicted to the same, monotonous long-period manned missions in the tight Salyut-Mir, which repeat each other. It is very wasteful; it is necessary to develop automatic production in space by training top-class operators to assemble and service installations, repair them, and remove output, and save it.... Science can also work on automatic vehicles without the absolute need for man to be present. I do not understand the expediency of it in this light. The cosmonaut training center with its enormous staff handles only a small group....

[Tarasov] Vasiliy Pavlovich, surely you are not taking umbrage with Zvezdnyy?

[Mishin] I am taking umbrage with no one, but it would be more practical to train crews in the firm on the actual vehicles that will be used on a mission. Why maintain a special, expensive facility just for test stands and simulators and have it subordinate to a different department?

Finally, our latest system—the Energiya-Buran. It is undoubtedly a great achievement for aviation and space rocket technology. But I do not see any real application for it for the next several decades.

[Tarasov] Will there not be things to bring back from space? What a pity.

[Mishin] It is and it isn't. Much less would have been gained by returning possible valuable objects from orbit, but a reusable vehicle launched by a reusable carrier is more effective. All the rest—repairs, inspections, resupplying large projects—can be done in working orbits in special modules. I can assure you that because of this some things are costing three times as much. It is much more practical to allocate funding to improve the space vehicle itself. Our communications satellites still operate for periods of time two or three times less than the American satellites. If their service life could be extended to 5 or 10 years our communications would be unrecognizable.

Do not think this is simply talk. Way back in 1970 we were thinking about a project for a multirole orbital complex—the MOK. It was a broad program for space exploration in circumterrestrial space within the earth-moon radius, including participation in solving food, energy, and ecology problems. Using a minimum number of fully equipped, standard space facilities in ground and orbital bases, the plan was to saturate local space with numerous useful vehicles. They would even have been able to influence the climate and lighting for cities, using a system of mirrors and solar light. It was a quite realistic project. For communications is not only radio and telephones and television, it is remote control of automated factories that may be harmful or dangerous, and of nuclear power stations located in an unpopulated safety zone. Not to mention the removal of harmful production facilities into space and making full use of the opportunities in space—high and low temperatures, high vacuum, conditions close to weightless. And 90 percent of all these operations can be carried on without man. But the idea of industry in space is still talk.

[Tarasov] How can this process be accelerated?

[Mishin] We need more projects, more proposals, and the broadest involvement of science, particularly VUZ [higher educational institutions] science. Space exploration has been hampered by monopoly and secrecy, and by nepotism and political dealing in the allocation of buildings and subsidies. We need broad, open competition in projects for a unified technical task. And discussion of tasks, ideas, and proposals, and independent expert evaluations, and open selection of the winners. Only after this, in full view of everyone, should there be implementation of projects in which the whole of society is convinced of their need and soundness.

[Tarasov] Thank you for the interview, Vasiliy Pavlovich. I congratulate you on the 32nd anniversary of the launch of the first artificial earth satellite.